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ABSTRACT

Local results of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, the first nationwide employment program with the clear objective of serving female heads of families, are reported on. Two WIN projects operating in labor markets of different characteristics--one relatively stable and prosperous, the other subject to seasonal fluctuation but showing some sign of employment growth--were chosen for study. These were Paterson and Asbury Park, N.J. An examination of file data for all female participants active in November 1969 was conducted to analyze the employment impact of the program at the two sites. A control group of 40 non-participants was organized to determine what would happen to those not enrolled in the program. Results include: (1) a substantial evidence of occupational upgrading among participants, and (2) improved attitude and self-concept among participants. Recommendations are included. (CK)

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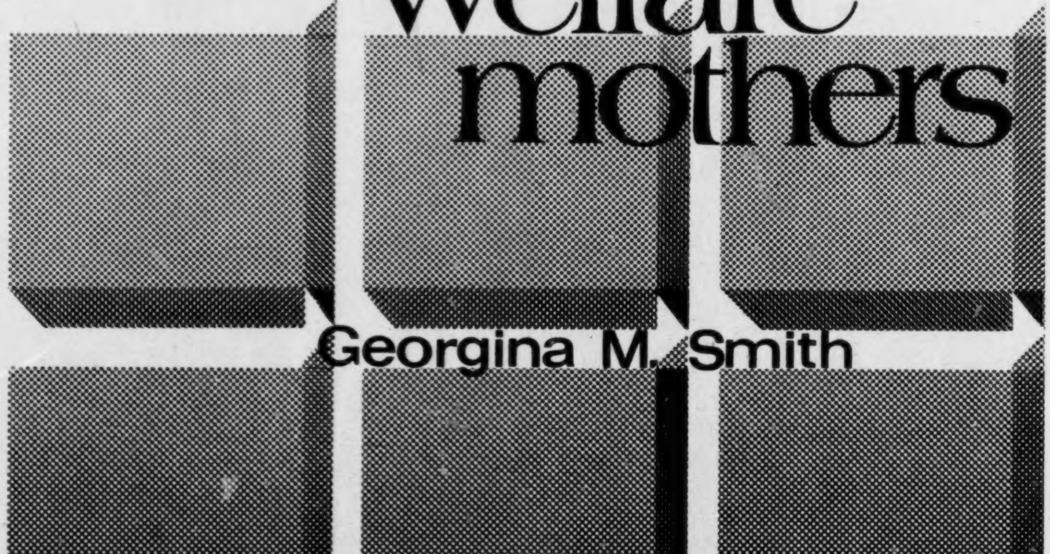

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Since the Department encourages research contractors to express their own judgment of the data, the interpretations expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the department's opinion or policies. Also, the author is solely responsible for the factual accuracy of all material herein.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PART I. BACKGROUND, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 1 - Overview.................. 1

Chapter 2 - A Close Look at WIN........ 12

Chapter 3 - Recommendations: The Larger Questions Remaining. 28

PART II. STUDY METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

Chapter 4 - Methodology................ 40

Chapter 5 - Personal Characteristics and Program Operation...... 51

Chapter 6 - The Employed, The Dropouts, and Those Still in Training. 63

Chapter 7 - Interview Data: The Life of a Welfare Mother......... 71

Chapter 8 - Interview Data: Testing Hypotheses.................. 101

Chapter 9 - Interview Data: Reactions to the Program.............. 114

PART III. TABLES

List of Tables ii

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NUMBER — Page

1. Personal Characteristics of WIN Participants, November 1969 125

2. Welfare History of WIN Participants 126

3. Labor Force Characteristics of WIN Participants, November 1969 127

4. Comparison of WIN Status, November 1969 and May 1970 129

5. Services Received by WIN Participants 130

6. Duration of Training of WIN Participants, May 1970. 131

7. Intensity of Counseling, Job Referral, and Placement of WIN Participants, May 1970 133

8. Volume of Referrals, Placements, and Employment, May 1970 135

9. Comparison of Jobs Held Before And After WIN Enrollment 136

10. Distribution of Trainees, Job Holders, and Terminations, May 1970 137

11. Factors Examined For Significant Differences Between Trainees, Job Holders, and Terminations, May 1970 138

12. Personal Characteristics of Trainees, Job Holders, and Terminations, May 1970 139

13. Welfare History: Trainees, Job Holders, and Terminations, May 1970 140

14. WIN Program Experiences of Trainees, Job Holders and Terminations, May 1970 141

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

TABLE NUMBER Page

15. Personal Characteristics of Interview Samples, November 1969 144

16. Welfare History of Interview Samples, November 1969. 146

17. Family Characteristics - Interview Samples, November 1969 147

18. School Problems of Respondent's Children- Interview Sample, November 1969 149

19. Birthplace and Years of Residence in the Program Area, Interview Samples, November 1969 150

20. Housing-Interview Samples, November 1969 151

21. Ownership of Household Goods - Interview Samples, November 1969 153

22. Health Care - Interview Samples, November 1969 154

23. Membership in Clubs and Organizations - Interview Samples, November 1969 156

24. Last Job - Interview Samples, November 1969 157

25. The Kind of Work Wanted - Interview Samples, November 1969 159

26. Income of Interview Groups, November 1969 161

27. Expenses - Interview Samples, November 1969 163

28. Clothing and Other Expenditures - Interview Samples, November 1969 164

29. Immediate Needs and Estimate of Income Status - Interview Groups, November 1969 166

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

TABLE NUMBER Page

30. Personal Hopes - Interview Samples, November 1969... 167

31. Comparison of Concerns of Interview Samples With Concerns of United States Samples.................. 169

32. Personal Fears - Interview Samples, November 1969... 170

33. Advantages and Disadvantages of Working - Interview Samples, November 1969.................... 171

34. Employment Status - Interview Samples, May 1970..... 172

35. Factors Tested for Significant Difference - Interview Samples................................... 174

36. Change in Job Aspirations - WIN and Control Samples. 176

37. Change in Family Characteristics, WIN and Control Samples.. 178

38. Changes in Housing, WIN and Control Samples......... 180

39. Change in Household Goods, WIN and Control Samples.. 182

40. Changes in Expenditures, WIN and Control Samples.... 184

41. Changes in Income, WIN and Control Samples.......... 186

42. Changes in Economic Expectations and Needs, WIN and Control Samples............................ 188

43. Change in Social Activities, WIN and Control Samples. 189

44. Opinions of the WIN Program - Interview Samples, May 1970.. 190

45. Opinions of WIN Components - Interview Samples, May 1970.. 191

46. Program's Effect on Self and Family - Interview Samples, May 1970................................... 193

47. Problems and Recommendations of Participants - Interview Samples, May 1970......................... 194

PART I

BACKGROUND, SUMMARY, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW

A. Women and Manpower Policy

During the past decade, manpower researchers have examined the consequences of a wide variety of job-training and employment programs aimed at specific classes of the unemployed.

This study's claim to differentiation rests upon its target population——welfare mothers. It reports in some detail, local results of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, the first nationwide employment program with the clear objective of serving female heads of families.

The significance of that statement requires some explanation-- perhaps, a brief review of federal manpower policy. During the early 1960's, most federal training programs were designed to serve regular workers who had been displaced by changing technology or sagging demand. Later in the decade, emphasis shifted to the "hard-core" unemployed-- those whose attempts to work regularly had been hindered by their youth, their race and/or their lack of skills.

Almost all of these programs, and the studies which accompanied them, concentrated upon male trainees. In fact, when the enrollment of females proved unexpectedly high, manpower policy was considered to be missing its mark. The 1970 Manpower Report of the President, for example, observed:

> Some concern has been expressed that manpower programs have devoted disporportionate resources to preparing women for jobs. The records show that during fiscal 1969, men predominated in most programs. Girls slightly outnumbered boys in the NYC

> out-of-school program, and women considerably outnumbered men in both the New Careers program and the WIN Program, which is aimed largely at mothers of dependent children. In all other programs, men were in the majority.[1]

The turn of the decade, however, appears to have introduced a new phase in manpower policy: purposeful concentration of public resources upon the training of women. This change-- of immense social significance-- was signalled, without fanfare by the 1971 Manpower Report of the President which stated:

> Women /in 1970/ made up nearly half of the enrollees in all programs taken together. They represented 71 percent of the new participants in the rapidly expanding WIN Program, 77 percent in the small New Careers effort to upgrade the disadvantaged in public service occupations, and about half of the NYC youth.[2]

The large-scale investment of public monies in the training of women, without apology, appears long overdue. Since the mid-sixties, approximately two-fifths of all women have been labor force participants and by the end of the decade they represented the same proportion of the labor force-- all contributing through their taxed earnings to the maintenance of manpower programs. Moreover, their need for training and retraining had been evident. Whether viewed by race, age, or marital status, their unemployment rate was consistently higher than that of men, and their concentration in low-paying jobs was well-documented.[3]

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[1] U.S. Department of Labor, March 1970, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 61.

[2] U.S. Department of Labor, April 1971, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 39. Other sections note planned research on training needs of women prisoners (p. 58); and discuss increased emphasis on women in the Job Corps-- rising female enrollment, experiments with coeducational residential centers, and institution of child care facilities for female enrollees (pp. 47-49).

However, the importance of the new stance in manpower policy is not limited to its recognition of women's disproportionate membership in the class of disadvantaged workers. Its impact promises to affect a wide range of social, economic and intellectual areas. Some of its potential repercussions were clearly foreseeable-- the most obvious being its challenge to traditional views on the social desirability of training girls, wives, and mothers for permanent employment outside the home. Other repercussions are apparent now but less noticeable. For example, experience with the Job Corps and WIN Program has brought strong Labor Department support for the expansion and improvement of day care for children of working mothers. Recounting some of the early problems of the WIN Program in the 1970 Manpower Report of the President, the Department observes:

> Space in institutional day-care facilities is extremely scarce. . . . Quality day-care is not only scarce but also expensive. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates the cost of after-school and summer care for school-age children at $400 per child per year, and for full-day care for preschoolers at $1600. This situation affects not only welfare mothers who might enroll in WIN, but also others, either struggling to pay for child care out of low incomes or prevented from seeking needed work by the lack of child-care services. In the long run, the solution lies in increased funding for day care. In addition, better use should be made of existing resources through the coordinated Community Child Care (4-C) program, a pilot interagency effort to coordinate area planning and resources.[4]

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[3] See, for example, "Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap", prepared by the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Government Printing Office, February 1971.

[4] Loc. cit., p. 75.

Still other consequences of the new policy are only intellectual tremors at present. For instance, large-scale public investment in job-training for women will reinforce the challenge to the adequacy of cost-benefit analysis as the measure of a program's worth. As one Labor Department study discovered in analyzing the NYC program[5] and as this report suggests in reviewing the WIN Program, the earnings of girls and women--even though they successfully complete a program and obtain higher-skill jobs-- may not yield enough cash gain to offset the cost of training. Yet the WIN mothers in this report found "good jobs" in the white collar world; they spoke of their own and their children's pride in their training achievements and of the shame and the hopelessness of life on welfare. Under these circumstances, can benefits be measured solely in dollars? Or does training pay important nonmonetary dividends to present and future generations? How can cost-benefit formulas be adjusted to measure these intangible gains?

In any event, opening training to women on a large-scale is bound to bring decisions based on cost-benefit analysis under attack from another quarter. The low payoff in training women is clearly related to the social convention which consigns even well-trained girls and women to low-paying jobs.

For example, a Labor Department publication indicates that in 1969, women high school graduates who were full-time year-round workers earned a median income of $5,280; women college graduates earned $7,396-- 58 and 57.1 percent, respectively, of the medians for men with the same education.[6]

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[5] 1971 Manpower Report of the President, p. 45.

[6] "Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap", p. 4.

Therefore, any attempt to reduce training opportunities for women on the basis of economic inefficiency will inevitably raise serious questions regarding sex discrimination. Should training for girls and women be judged economically inefficient because sex discrimination bars them from earning reasonable returns on the investment? Or, should the agency charged with the success of the programs (and coincidentally, with the enforcement of some anti-discrimination law) exert itself to change the "given" data in the cost-benefit equation?

Obviously, large-scale public investment in job-training for women is a powerful vehicle for social change. Equally obviously, the issues involved are numerous, wide-ranging, and above all, controversial. Nowhere are they brought more sharply into focus than in the WIN Program.

B. The Work Incentive Program

The WIN Program in 1970 was the second largest of all manpower programs, and still growing. It was authorized in 1967, admitted its first trainees in October 1968, and by the end of 1970 had a nationwide enrollment of 103,200, and a 1971 goal of 150,000.[7] By 1970, seven out of 10 participants were women-- almost all of them welfare mothers.

At its inception, WIN inherited the last contingent of enrollees in the Work Experience and Training (Title V) Program, operated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from 1965 to 1968. Charged by law with serving unemployed fathers and other needy persons, the Title V Program had also enrolled welfare mothers, but its female trainees occupied an anomalous position. One spokesman, for example, described the training relevant for mothers as consisting of the home economics skills which would support their husbands' efforts.[8] Later, in an effort to halt rising female enrollment, federal administrators directed local projects to reserve one-half of their slots for men.[9]

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[7] 1970 Manpower Report of the President, p. 74, and 1971 Manpower Report of the President, pp. 38, 52-53.

[8] "The Work Experience and Training Program Under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act", an address by Adnrew R.N. Truelson before the American Public Welfare Association, Dec. 3, 1965, quoted by Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum in Federal Training and Work Programs in the Sixties, Wayne State University, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969, p. 246.

[9] U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, "Criteria for Approval of New Title V Projects and Renewals", Letter No. 590 to State Agencies, Jan. 11, 1967, referred to in Levitan and Mangum, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

The WIN Program followed the precedent of Title V, and most preceding manpower efforts by giving highest priority to the training and placement of men and out-of-school youths (in addition to immediately accepting current participants in Title V). WIN was restricted, however, to serving persons receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC), the largest and fastest growing category of welfare recipients. In 1968, when the first WIN project was funded, three out of four families on the AFDC rolls were families headed by women.[10] Hence, it was clear from the start that most enrollees would be welfare mothers.

Although Title V had been offering work experience and training to some welfare mothers for three years at the time WIN took over, that activity had by no means won wide acceptance. As a group, welfare mothers were still considered out of the labor force rather then unemployed. Moreover, as in the past, value judgments continued to cloud most discussions of their employability. Underlying much of the opposition to job-training was the view that mothers are best employed in the home, taking care of their own children.[11] Underlying much of the support was the belief that dependence is degrading, while work offers personal dignity and a chance for a better life. Both sides marshalled statistical evidence to support their views. Opponents of work for welfare mothers pointed to their lack of marketable skills and the high cost of child care. Supporters pointed to the burgeoning size, cost, and social wastefulness of the current system, and to the rapidly rising work rate of all mothers. Public attitudes toward welfare mothers during the pre-WIN period reflected this background of controversy, demonstrating some sympathy for their children-- the "poor kids"-- and resentment and hopelessness in regard to the mother.

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[10] David B. Eppley, "The AFDC Family in the 1960's", Welfare in Review, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Vol. 8, No. 5, Sept.-Oct. 1970, pp. 8-16.

[11] See the review of the Title V program in Levitan and Mangum, for examples and discussion of the views cited in this paragraph. *Op. cit.*, pp. 240-272.

A few attempts had been made to measure the actual employment potential of the women, but criteria varied from one study to the next, and a wide range of estimates resulted. In a 1969 report, Leonard J. Hausman catalogued some of these efforts.[12]

For example, a 1961 study by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had classed 22 percent of the AFDC mothers as employable using as criteria the fact that they were already employed, or that they had no impediment to employment except the lack of suitable jobs.

A 1965 survey by the California Department of Social Welfare, Hausman reported, counted 17 percent of its welfare mothers as fully employable. In this case, "employable" meant under 50 years of age, literate, without major mental or physical handicaps, having less than seven children, and not needed fulltime in the home.

To obtain some notion of the opinion of the welfare mothers themselves, Hausman conducted his own small survey in New York City in 1966, asking dependent women whether they thought AFDC mothers would work if they could keep all or most of their earnings. The answers he received indicated that 38.9 percent were employable, given an encouraging welfare tax rate, and

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[12] "Employability of AFDC Family Heads", The Potential for Work Among Welfare Parents, U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Research Monograph No. 13, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 9-15.

27.5 percent were either already working or appeared to be "job ready". However, as Hausman points out, his study did not ask women if they personally would work, so his figures may overstate actual behavior, and probably do overstate potential job hunting success.

Viewed against this background of emotion-laden controversy and sparse information, it is apparent that the WIN Program set itself a very difficult task-- one bound to be subject to question and criticism. It is also apparent that it set some notable precedents. In addition to being the first nationwide training and employment program aimed specifically at mothers, it established a number of other "firsts".

1) Welfare recipients who participated experienced an immediate increase in income as well as the promise of more to come-- the "incentive" feature of the program. While in training, WIN enrollees received $30. per month, in addition to an allowance to cover the expenses of training (lunch, carfare, etc.) which had also been provided under Title V. In New Jersey, this meant a total monthly cash payment of $80 in excess of the welfare grant. After employment, WIN participants were allowed to keep the first $30 of their earnings plus an additional one-third of their wages before the welfare grant was reduced.[13]

2) Unlike Title V, WIN required cooperation between the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. The latter agency was charged with selecting candidates for WIN, maintaining welfare benefits, and supply-

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[13] Shortly after adopting the WIN Program, New Jersey placed a ceiling on total income after which welfare benefits must terminate-- 133 percent of permissible benefits, or earnings of $470 per month for a family of four. In July 1970, a United States District Court ruled against this ceiling. At this writing, the decision was under appeal.

ing supportive social services: child care, medical care, personal counseling, etc. Administration of the program was lodged with the Department of Labor, which operated WIN through state employment security agencies.

Employment services provided were designed to be highly personalized. As under Title V, an individual employability plan was to be drafted for each participant charting the services required to meet her employment goal. Throughout her enrollment, her progress was to be followed by a WIN team usually consisting of a counselor, a manpower specialist, a work-training specialist, a coach and a clerk-stenographer. A full roster of manpower services-- interviewing, testing, counseling, and placement in a job, job training, or special work experience-- was available to each candidate as required.[14]

In New Jersey, the first WIN enrollees entered the program November 1, 1968. Nine projects were launched at sites throughout the state: Atlantic City and Camden in the south; Trenton, New Brunswick, and Asbury Park in the central section; and Jersey City, Elizabeth, Newark, and Paterson in the north. Newark, the state's largest city was allocated 800 enrollee slots; and Jersey City, a major industrial center, 400; the others, 200 each.

At six sites, WIN had been preceded by Title V projects and the majority of the first WIN entrants were transfers, about half of whom were male. As the transfers moved out of the program through termination or completion, it became increasingly clear that WIN enrollment would be predominently female.

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[14] 1970 Manpower Report of the President, p. 75.

On a statewise basis by June 1970, that is, at the end of the period covered by this study, women outnumbered men at the rate of four to one.

CHAPTER 2

A CLOSE LOOK AT WIN

A. Design of This Study

This study set out to take a close look at local results of WIN's effort to move mothers "from the welfare rolls into meaningful, permanent, productive employment."[15] At the request of the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, the approach taken aimed to combine a "computer's view" with a "people's view" of the program.

As the WIN Program Handbook states: "The purpose of this program is not just training. It is employment, but also employment with a future."[16] This fact led to the first decision in study design. Since the nature of the local labor market places obvious constraints on the volume and type of job placements possible, it was decided to select for study two WIN projects operating in labor markets of different characteristics-- one relatively stable and prosperous, the other subject to seasonal fluctuation but showing some sign of employment growth. The two projects, it was further specified, should be similar in size, in length of operation, and in distribution of enrollees among the training components; and both should enjoy a good working relationship with their respective County Welfare Boards.

On the basis of these criteria, Paterson and Asbury Park, N.J., were selected as study sites. Paterson, center of an old, diversified, highly industrialized area, exemplified a stable job market. Asbury, a seaside resort located in a county undergoing rapid expansion in population and industry, represented a market which was seasonal, but growing.

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[15] U.S. Employment Service, Program Letter 2380, May 22, 1968.

[16] U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, BWTP Manual, TN13-68, July 25, 1968, pp. 100-104.

State sources estimated that the average participant's progress through the WIN Program-- from enrollment through follow-up after employment-- would take four to six months. Therefore, a six-month study period was designated to begin November 1969 and end May 1970.

The next decision in study design took note of WIN's avowed purpose, and yielded what might be called a computer view of the program. Since WIN is an employment program, effective services should be strongly associated with employment-- moreover, with employment in jobs which are better than trainees could get without it. To analyze the employment impact of the program at the two sites, it was decided to examine file data for all female participants active in November 1969, regardless of their enrollment date-- a population of 203 women in Asbury and 212 in Paterson. At the study's start, this population was listed and benchmark information was collected on personal characteristics, welfare and work histories, program status, and number and type of WIN services received. Six months later, this information was brought up-to-date. Analysis examined differences in clientele and program operation at each site, and sought to discover the type of persons and services associated with various possible outcomes-- termination, employment, and prolonged training.

However, to fasten exclusively on employment results is to forego a great deal of useful information. Welfare mothers are not merely potential units of labor. They are heads of families, consumers, members of organizations, and while in training, also students and classmates. Their experiences in various program components undoubtedly interact with other areas of their lives in ways in which can reinforce or undermine the program's effectiveness. Therefore, to secure some approximation of a "people's view" of the program, the 60 mothers who were the most recent enrollees at each site were designated for interview at the study's start and again six months later. Data collected included job market information and activity, child-care arrangements, family structure, children's school performance, income and expenditures, personal hopes and worries concerning the future, and reactions and recommendations regarding WIN.

The final decision in study design involved the question: What would have happened to WIN mothers in the absence of the program? To gain information on this point, 40 welfare mothers at each site who were eligible for WIN but would not receive it during the study period were designated as control groups. The control mothers were interviewed at the same interval as the WIN mothers, using a questionnaire which differed only by omission of questions on program operations. Changes occurring within participant and control groups over the time period of the study were identified and examined; then, the final status of participants was compared with that of the control groups.

For the technical reader, study design is diagrammed in Part II, problems of sample selection are discussed, and the statistical data resulting from the study is presented under appropriate headings.

For the general reader, the major findings of the study are summarized and interpreted in question-and-answer form below. Part I then concludes with a discussion of recommendations.

B. Study Results-- Some Questions and Answers

Unless otherwise indicated, statistics in this section are based on file data for the total active population of WIN mothers at each site in November 1969. Quotations occasionally used to illustrate a point are, of course, taken from interviews.

Who are the WIN mothers?

At both sites, the typical WIN mother was a Black woman in her late 20's or early 30's, who had not finished high school. She was divorced or separated from her husband, was living alone with her two or three children, and had been receiving welfare for up to two years. If she had worked at all during the three years before entry, the job was unskilled-- usually as a waitress or a domestic, a floor girl or assembler in a factory, or a clerk in a dry cleaning store-- and had paid less than $1.70 per hour. That job had lasted less than a year and had ended more than 12 months before she entered the program.

In addition to the obvious job market handicaps outlined above, field researchers observed that some women entered the program with an additional problem. They were frightened and confused, still suffering the after-effects of the domestic disaster which had put them on relief. One young mother, for example, had turned her husband over to the police only a few months before enrolling in WIN. He had returned from Vietnam a heroin addict, had tried to force her into prostitution to support his habit, and eventually had threatened to kill their children. Although no interview questions were asked on this score, many others volunteered similar stories.[17]

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[17] Program records indicated that 10 percent at one site and 80 percent at the other entered WIN with personal problems-- figures so different that they undoubtedly reflect different estimating criteria.

Independence and the prospect of a little financial elbow-room were seen as the chief advantages of working by all the interview groups--WIN mothers and controls alike. One Paterson woman summed up the explanations given by many:

> When you're getting a paycheck every week you don't have to budget so closely so the money will last to the end of the month. And you can earn more than you can get from welfare. But the best thing is that you don't have to worry about investigators nosing around. You don't have to explain where you got the money for something. When you're working, you're on your own and you don't have to depend on anyone else.

Others emphasized the psychological value of independence:

> You have the pride and respect of your children.

> When you have a job, you know you're not living off someone else's hard work. Do it yourself and you'll feel good.

But the welfare mothers were not unaware of the possible disadvantages of working. Child care problems or separation from their children loomed largest among these in their answers.

Do welfare mothers get jobs through the WIN Program--better jobs than they'd find without it?

Given a wide, diversified labor market, and sufficient time, the WIN Program exeeeded realistic expectations. In Paterson, 12 to 18 months after their enrollment, 40 percent of the welfare mothers were employed. In Asbury, the small seasonal market, 25 percent were working after the same time lapse. At each site, an additional 10 percent had worked at some time since entering training, but were not employed in May 1970, the end of the six-month study period. At each site, one-third of the women were still in training. The remainder--about 30 percent in Paterson and 40 percent in Asbury--had been terminated.

The employment figure given above for the Paterson program sounds surprisingly like the forecast made by Hausman on the basis of his New York City survey-- i.e., that 38.9 percent of the welfare mothers were employable, given an encouraging welfare tax rate. It should be noted, however, that the record of the WIN Program at this site is, in fact, better than anticipated. Hausman's projection was an estimate of potential employability and was assumed to overstate practical results. The figure reported here represents actual employment at a given point in time.

Moreover, at both sites, there was substantial evidence of occupational upgrading. The last job held by the women before entering the program was compared with the first job secured afterward. A large-scale shift to clerical employment was evident. Before training, approximately 5 percent at Asbury, and 14 percent in Paterson had held clerical jobs. After training, more than 40 percent at each site had moved into the white-collar world.

A rise in earnings was also evident, but its significance is debatable. Although median hourly earnings at each site rose by approximately 20 cents, it is probable that the pay gain was not entirely attributable to training. The last job held before entering the program could have occurred as long ago as 1965. Hence, some of the apparent pay gain must be due to changes in state and federal minimum wages, as well as to the general increase in all prices, including wages, during the late 1960's.

Nevertheless, while clerical hourly pay was not substantially higher than wages received previously, the transition to white-collar work probably represents a real gain. Clerical work, in general, is more stable than blue-collar work; hence, annual income should be higher. In addition, office jobs usually offer more attractive and comfortable working conditions than shop or service employment. And finally, for the many Blacks and Puerto Ricans among the employed mothers, the transition to clerical jobs represented a widening of opportunity-- a chance to do the light, clean and relatively prestigious work formerly reserved for the middle class. Since this type of work usually requires pretraining at the worker's expense, it is doubtful that many welfare mothers could have obtained it without the assistance of the program.

Can the WIN Program work for anyone, or were those who found jobs an elite group?

Again, given a favorable labor market, the program appears capable of correcting the employment handicaps of most enrollees-- but the process takes time.

At both sites, the employed group was compared with the dropouts, and with those still in training, in regard to personal characteristics and services received. At neither site were there statistically significant differences in the personal characteristics on record for the three groups. However, in the smaller seasonal market, Asbury Park, there was some evidence of "creaming": the employed group evidently required less preparation for the job market. They tended not to get adult basic education or high school equivalency training, and, instead, were routed quickly to work experience or vocational training. They spent less time in the program than those still in training, and received more job referrals and repeated referrals. Evidently, in this more selective market, jobs tended to go to those who required the least service.

In Paterson, however, a different story appeared. Program operators seemed to be dealing alike with all enrollees. The employed group received about the same range of services as the dropouts and those who remained in training. They were distinguished only by their perseverance--they had been in the program longer than the others. Among the employed group at this site, three-quarters had been in the program 13 months or longer, and, among all of those enrolled 13 months or longer, one-half were employed in May 1970.

How long does it take to train welfare mothers for the labor market?

Before this study began, estimates based on the initial enrollment of Title V transfers suggested that most participants would move through the program and into the labor market in four to six months. The Title V transfers, however, were not typical. A large proportion were men, and male enrollees at the two sites studied were customarily considered "job-ready", and hence received referrals rather than training. Moreover, many of the women in that group had already received some training or work experience under Title V.

For the welfare mothers who now predominate in the WIN population, the duration of training will clearly be much longer than the initial estimate. As noted earlier, at both research sites, approximately one-third of the welfare mothers were still in training 12 to 18 months after enrolling in the program.

Why does it take so long to prepare the women for the labor market? Part of the answer is that they came into the program with the staggering complex of job market handicaps sketched earlier. Their past work experience had been scarce or erratic. About two-thirds at each site were Black, and at Paterson, an additional nine percent were Spanish-speaking. The median level of education at both sites was the tenth grade. And some were entering the program in a state of emotional shock.

The process of overcoming these employment handicaps is necessarily a long one. Formal education-- ABE, GED, or both-- was the most frequently used service at both sites, and about half of its enrollees remained in class longer than six months. The vocational training or work experience which succeeded it usually lasted longer than five months. Not all the time span, however, represented training time. About 40 percent at each site spent three months or longer in holding, awaiting the resolution of personal or scheduling problems.

What did the WIN mothers think of the program?

At least 60 percent of the WIN mothers interviewed at both sites reported that the program had had some positive effect on their general outlook or hopes. They usually described this change as an improvement in their self-esteem or as personal revitalization. For example:

> I feel different. I know more than I knew before, and I'm curious and so are my children. When I come to a word I don't know, I look it up. And the children are beginning to do the same thing.
>
> My whole outlook has picked up. You feel like you're somebody instead of just nobody. . . down in the dumps.

More than two-thirds said their families, usually their children, were supporting their efforts with interest, encouragement or pride:

> My daughter is very interested in what I'm doing and encourages me. She says it's never too late to learn.
>
> The kids thought it was good I was going back to school. They say: 'Mom is going to be a very important lady.'

In recounting their experiences in the program, the women interviewed in Paterson reported more supportive and remedial services, and seemed to value those services more highly. Counseling and formal education received strong approval in Paterson, and fared less well in Asbury.

The WIN mothers selected for interview, it will be recalled, were the most recent enrollees. Hence, by the end of the six-month study period, few had progressed to the training components directly related to work--vocational education and work experience-- and fewer still had received referrals to prospective employers. Among those who did receive vocational training or work experience, however, two out of three rated it as very valuable. On the other hand, about half of those told of job openings complained that the work was not relevant to their training.

At both sites, the most frequent recommendations for program improvement concerned training techniques: better teaching, more equipment, more relevance to work, and better adjustment to the speed of learners. One woman summarized points made by many others:

> They should have more vocational training instead of basic education so that you learn something useful. The stuff I was taught I knew already. A lot of girls come just for the money and they are disrupting influences. They should take only those who want to do something.

Several also agreed with another woman who said:

> Some people stay too long in training or work experience. They should have more job opportunities.

What would have happened to the welfare mothers without the WIN Program?

At each site, as noted earlier, 40 welfare mothers who had not yet entered WIN were also interviewed at the beginning and the end of the six-month study period. The purpose of these interviews was to register environmental influences-- changes in the business cycle, in seasonal factors, or in the general level of welfare grants-- which would affect all welfare mothers, whether or not they participated in WIN. In other words, the experience of the control mothers would provide clues to what would have happened to the WIN mothers without the Program.

It was initially anticipated that the mothers who had not yet enrolled in the Program would be much less likely to be working at the end of six months than those who had just entered it. As research proceeded, however, it became apparent that WIN takes considerably longer than six months to move welfare mothers into the labor market. Therefore, the data resulting from the interviews is not considered an adequate measure of WIN's employment outcome. By May 1970, less than one in five of any interview group, participant or control, was working: in Asbury, 16.7 percent of the WIN mothers and 13.5 percent of the controls; in Paterson, 15 percent of the WIN participants and 7.7 percent of the controls. Apparently, WIN did not impede the early employment of welfare mothers who would otherwise be working. But, in that short a time, neither did it markedly increase the proportion employed.

However, the interviews yielded some evidence that even in the six-month period, the program does provide substantial side benefits, both monetary and psychological, for its enrollees, which may ultimately enhance their labor market attachment.

Thanks to incentive payments and training allowances totaling $80 per month, WIN participants had enjoyed a higher income throughout the period than the control group. This increment had permitted them to spend more than the controls on utilities and clothes and to secure a few small amenities-- radios, record players, and most of all, telephones, the latter a valuable aid in getting and keeping a job.

The clothing expenditures, too, should be considered an investment in employability. In their first interview, a number of WIN mothers remarked that they had only one or two dresses fit to be worn outside the house, and had to borrow clothes in order to report for training five days per week. Many also lacked raincoats or boots, since as housewives they could postpone errands in bad weather. The clothing purchases, it would seem, probably represent "start up" costs for women re-entering the labor force after long absence.

There was also some evidence of a higher level of material aspiration among the WIN mothers-- a factor long credited with increasing the labor force participation of women who have other options. Asked to name their most pressing need, both WIN and control mothers gave clothing the highest priority. After that, however, WIN mothers tended to emphasize furniture and household goods, while control mothers listed debts and miscellaneous other needs. Apparently, the relatively higher income of the WIN mothers allowed them to raise their eyes from the economic floor and begin to yearn a bit for the more expensive, but deferable purchases-- a change in viewpoint which might lead them into the labor market and keep them there.

Throughout the study period, WIN mothers remained fairly active in clubs and organizations, whereas control mothers sharply cut back their membership. Since most successful job-hunting occurs through word-of-mouth reference, this social exposure may also differentially increase the employment prospects of WIN mothers.

However, what may be the most important difference between WIN and control groups came to light when they were asked to set out their hopes and fears for the future, by outlining what they considered the "best possible life" and the "worst possible life".[18] Both WIN groups evidenced much more concern than their control groups about economic matters generally, and employment specifically. The difference was particularly great in Paterson. WIN mothers at this site were pinning much of their hope for a better life upon getting a good job. At the same time, their anxiety on this score was also relatively high. For example, in the words of one young Black woman in Paterson, the best possible life would be:

> To finish school and maybe college. . . get a good job and be able to take care of my children. . . make them feel they're not ashamed. . . make them feel they belong.

And the worst life:

> If I finished and then didn't get a job that paid and that I liked. . . to be still on welfare after all that. . .

This concern with employment as the means to a better life, it would seem, might reasonably be construed as evidence of motivation to work. If so, its differential presence among the WIN participants is an extremely import factor and one which warrants more specific investigation.

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[18] A technique developed by Hadley Cantril for cross-cultural identification of human concerns. See Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1965.

Did employment make the welfare mothers self-sufficient?

As stated earlier, the files of the WIN projects in both cities showed that the pay levels of employed WIN mothers were better than most had ever earned before. But for most, earnings were still too low for family support.

After training, only one-third of those employed in Paterson, and one-fifth in Asbury had pay rates above $2.10 per hour; only 11 percent in Paterson and none in Asbury were earning more than $2.50. Moreover, at least 10 percent of the employed mothers at each site were working less than 35 hours per week.

To place this level of income in perspective, consider the following. At least one-half of the employed mothers at each site had three or more dependents. According to the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, the head of a family of four would require a 40-hour work week with earnings of $2.50 per hour to achieve the same level of living as that provided by welfare. Although this calculation assumes that two members of the family are adults, nevertheless, it is clear that the earnings of most WIN mothers fell far short of the mark.

In other words, after their long and arduous training-- in many cases, basic education, followed by high school equivalency work, followed by vocational training, followed finally by referral and placement-- most WIN mothers still could not earn a subsistence living.

It must not be thought that this implies any shortcomings in the women or in the program. The U.S. Department of Labor reported that the median wage or salary income of all women full-time, year-round workers during 1969 was $4,977, about 60 percent of the male median pay.[19] Assuming that, on the average, they worked 40 hours per week, 50 weeks per year, these data indicate that one-half of the fully employed women in the United States-- representing all levels of training, experience and skill-- were earning less than $2.50 per hour.

In other words, the welfare mothers, having entered the WIN Program hoping to pull themselves up by the bootstraps. . . having persevered through training, educating and reeducating themselves. . . having successfully landed a job, often in the relatively skilled white-collar world. . . ran full tilt into sex discrimination in the labor market. They discovered that, regardless of skill or training, most women cannot earn enough to support a family.

As Irene Cox put it, after examining 1967 nationwide data on the earnings of female heads of families:

> A prescription for success in family support /for a woman/ would have included such ingredients as these: be middle-aged, have no children under 6, have a high school or, preferably a college education, work full-time in a professional, technical, or upper-level clerical occupation, and be white. Few of these ingredients are subject to choice, and none guarantees 100 percent success, including the last.[20]

That sex discrimination in the labor market is at the root of this situation, was emphasized by William H. Brown III, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. Pointing out that 10 million working women have children under 18, and that many are heads of households, he said:

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[19] "Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap", p. 1.

[20] "The Employment of Mothers as a Means of Family Support", Welfare in Review, November-December 1970, Vol. 8, No. 6, pp. 13-14.

> Unquestionably, discrimination against them denies them decent employment and a chance to work themselves off the welfare rolls.[21]

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[21] Addressing a meeting of the San Francisco Federal Executive Board. Quoted in Labor Relations Reporter, Vol. 76, No. 19, March 8, 1971, p. 191.

CHAPTER 3

RECOMMENDATIONS: THE LARGER QUESTIONS REMAINING

What can be done to improve program operation?

The welfare reform bill before Congress, at this writing, outlines a much larger manpower program modelled on WIN but open also to the "working poor". The projected reform program (initially called the Family Assistance Program) corrects many problems which came to light in nationwide experience with WIN. It will raise training allowances and incentive payments, toughen work requirements, provide more money for child-care, a sliding scale of child-care subsidy for the employed mother, and transitional public service jobs.[22]

This study suggests, however, that for the welfare mothers and the many other women who will be among the working poor, the content of training also needs review. Both WIN projects reported here relied on formal education as their major training activity.

While most enrollees interviewed at both sites valued this training as a contribution both to their personal development and their employability, many also regarded it as a long, slow detour on the way to the job market. The analysis of file data lent some weight to that suspicion: at both sites, exposure to vocational education or work experience tended to distinguish those who found jobs. WIN or its successor needs to develop more job-related training for women and to find quicker ways of moving them into it--perhaps by dividing school days (or weeks) between vocational education and the formal education which now takes so much time. This is not to suggest dispensing with formal education. Without it, it is unlikely that so many in the projects studied could have moved into clerical occupations. However, enrollees' complaints certainly suggested that some were spending too long in the classroom.

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[22] 1971 Manpower Report of the President, pp. 35-36, and 1970 Manpower Report, pp. 83-85.

The heavy reliance on formal education may not be completely unrelated to another problem: the amount of time enrollees spent in holding. With limited vocational training resources and a declining volume of job openings during the study period, routing enrollees into formal education where they received some benefit may have been the only alternative to placing them in holding status where they would merely mark time.

If this was the case, the transitional public jobs proposed in the welfare reform bill may take up the slack-- reducing both the time spent in holding and over-reliance on formal education. But there are problems inherent in this approach, too, as demonstrated by the early experience of the Supplemental Training and Employment Program (STEP). This small program was initiated in April 1970, to tide unemployed graduates of other manpower training programs through the deepening recession apparent that year. It was meant to offer 13 weeks of work experience in public or private nonprofit agencies at a pay rate no less than the minimum wage and no more than $2 per hour. Reporting the experience of the first eight months, the Department of Labor said:

> . . . In view of the intense competition for the relatively few jobs available, not many STEP enrollees were being placed at the year's end and the number enrolled in a second program cycle was growing.[23]

Obviously, without a vigorously expanding economy, there is some threat that transitional public jobs could become permanent work experience assignments at or near the minimum wage for welfare mothers and other hard-to-place trainees.

An alternative worth considering is to raise our national viewpoint on what constitutes vocational education. Disadvantaged trainees who have completed the present standard offering of formal education might be moved on into the two-year technical and vocational programs now provided by community colleges in many states. This would serve two socially desirable purposes. It would eliminate the work relief concept implicit in prolonged work experience at minimal pay. And, for welfare mothers particularly, it would provide some realistic prospect of earnings adequate for family support.

If the WIN Program does not lead to self-sufficiency for welfare mothers, is it worth expanding through a general welfare reform?

As emphasized earlier, the flaw which prevents WIN from reaching its goal is not in the techniques or the clientele of the program, but in the mores of the labor market.

A program such as WIN, which sets out to make welfare recipients independent, has an implicit goal of creating and accelerating social change.

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[23] 1971 Manpower Report of the President, p. 42.

In the specific case of WIN, this goal was explicit. By providing child-care funds and by selecting a target population of mothers, the program was obviously designed to be an instrument of social change.

It is equally clear, however, that reaching its goal of independence for welfare mothers will require additional social change-- not only change in the mores governing the employment of mothers, but also change in the mores governing the employment of all women.

It is, indeed, fortuitous that the conduct of the WIN Program, the nation's second largest manpower program and one aimed chiefly at women, has been lodged in the Department of Labor. This is the same agency which enforces the Equal Pay Act and the Executive Orders to federal contractors barring discrimination against women in employment, promotion and pay. In fact, with closer cooperation with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the Department of Labor could draw upon the entire arsenal of federal anti-discrimination law in speeding the social change to which it is committed under WIN or its successor.[24]

Even under present conditions, however, it is clear that the very agency which is directed to make the WIN Program a success, has both the authority and the legal responsibility to attack a chief obstacle to that success. This confluence of the duty and the power to solve its own problems, places Labor in a singularly enviable position. . . and one which it has not yet vigorously exploited.

Making welfare mothers independent and eliminating sex discrimination in the labor market are necessarily concurrent goals. It is strongly recommended that WIN and its successor address the latter task directly as part of the training given women.

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[24] "The prime objective of FAP /now the welfare reform bill/ is to raise raise welfare recipients completely and permanently out of dependency." 1970 Manpower Report of the President, p. 157.

Before she is placed in a job, every female enrollee should receive a few days of instruction on the rights of women workers and other minorities under the Equal Pay Act of 1963; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375; and the laws of her own State. This instruction should include clear information on activity which constitutes a breach of the law, the type of evidence required, the method for filing individual complaints, the proper bureaus to be contacted for help, and the provisions for employee immunity to retaliation.

It should be noted that this is not information which can be considered subversive to the interests of prospective employers. It is the law of the land.

To return to the question asked earlier, however, given the present state of labor market discrimination against women and the likelihood that, even with vigorous action, change will not be immediate, is the WIN Program worth expanding?

An affirmative argument can be made. Data reported earlier in this study indicated that a large proportion of all WIN mothers employed in May 1970 had made a transition to clerical employment-- jobs which, although relatively low-paying, usually offer more attractive working conditions and more stability than their pay equivalents in the blue-collar field. Moreover, information from the interview samples showed differences in the aspirations and behavior of the WIN mothers which suggest firmer attachment to the labor market in the future.

Therefore, one may reason as follows. Although few of those trained will earn enough for family support in their first job, the woman who remains in the labor market (particularly in the more stable white collar occupations) will see her pay increase through seniority, through job changes into better-paying organizations, or at the very least, through the general upward wage drift. Moreover, as time goes by, her home expenses will diminish as the children, one by one, become self-supporting. At some future point in time, therefore, her rising income will meet, and eventually, exceed the declining cost of family support. And from then on, barring illness or injury, she will probably be self-sufficient.

In all likelihood, without the training, she would follow the erratic employment pattern shown by the initial work histories of WIN enrollees, never earning more than the going entry-level wage. Unless she re-married, she would probably remain a frequent client of AFDC until her youngest child reached 18, at which time she would leave the AFDC rolls only to enter another category of relief.

The conjecture outlined above could be tested through longitudinal studies. A relatively simple study, for example, which could shed some light on this issue, would consist of a comparison three to five years hence of the Social Security records of WIN graduates with those of AFDC recipients at a site without a program. The earnings of both groups, then could be compared with some standard-- the poverty-level guidelines, or the Labor Department's "modest but adequate" budgets for workers-- to indicate their adequacy for family support.

Is cost-benefit analysis an adequate instrument for evaluating programs like WIN?

If WIN were weighed strictly from the point of view of the cash costs of training welfare mothers versus the present value of the cash gains to the individual in earnings, or to government in income tax and reduced welfare payments, then the program would almost certainly register on the light side.

Costs appear greater than anticipated at the start of this study. Training took longer than forecast, and the "opportunity cost" of training-- the earnings foregone by those who enter the program-- was higher than expected for a population of welfare mothers.

On the benefit side, the rise in hourly earnings on the first job after training would not yield impressive longterm returns to the individual. And since pay rates for most mothers were insufficient for family support, large benefits to government through welfare reduction were unlikely.

However, conventional techniques of cost-benefit anaysis-- as many of its most thoughtful practitioners have observed-- may be inappropriate for evaluating manpower programs aimed at the disadvantaged. The problems and pitfalls encountered in measuring in dollars the worth of training the poor have been discussed comprehensively by many outstanding analysts.[24] In this section, therefore, only a few which seem particularly relevant for WIN will be examined.

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[24] See, for example, Glen G. Cain and Robinson G. Hollister, "Evaluating Manpower Programs for the Disadvantaged", Cost-Benefit Analysis of Manpower Policies, edited by G.G. Somers and W.D. Wood, Industrial Relations Center, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1969, pp. 119-151. In the same publication, see also Burton A. Weisbrod, "Benefits of Manpower Programs: Theoretical and Methodological Issues", pp. 3-15.

First, there is the problem of measuring the "soft" effects of WIN-- results which may be conceded to have great personal value but have no dollar price. For example, most women in the small interview samples, both controls and trainees, expressed in their own words the same ethic which underlies WIN and its proposed successor-- the belief that work is "good", and welfare is not. Describing WIN's effect on them to that point, trainees spoke of new hopes and increased mental and physical vigor. On the other hand, its behavioral consequences, as judged by comparison with control groups seemed chiefly a consequence of increased income subsidy. Yet it is doubtful that more generous grants in lieu of training would represent as valuable a package of psychic and monetary income for the majority.

Another effect which eludes a cost accounting approach is the impact of the WIN program on community relations-- a social benefit difficult to measure in money. At both sites, the WIN program successfully introduced welfare mothers into organizations which had not previously trained or employed the disadvantaged. The channels opened appeared to represent the widening of opportunity for a class rather than mere benefit to the individual trainee. As another example, during the six-month study period, both the WIN mothers who were interviewed and the control mothers waiting to enter the program raised their rating of the Employment Service as an aid in job-hunting. This type of growing acquaintance between the poor and local service institutions undoubtedly has a dollar value in reduced social tensions, but one can only guess what it might be.

The most critical mismatch, however, between WIN and conventional cost-benefit analysis concerns the point strongly emphasized earlier: the low ceiling imposed on women's earnings at every level of education or training by sex discrimination. Given the present social framework of the labor market-- a framework fashioned by past (and now illegal) social values, an investment in training for women obviously cannot pay off in dollar terms comparable to those for men. Under these circumstances, a decision on the allocation of resources based on cost-benefit analysis could have only one recommendation for policy-makers: give women handouts, give men job training.

A parallel situation existed 30 years ago for Blacks. Given the social framework of that time, the educated Black could expect earnings no higher than those of a chauffeur, a Redcap, or an elevator operator. The same money invested in educating whites obviously would yield a much greater rate of return. In terms of allocative efficiency, the answer would be clear: give Blacks handouts, give whites education.

As noted earlier, few proponents of cost-benefit analysis claim that it is without flaws. Most practitioners merely assert that it is the best tool available at the moment for making impartial, value-free decisions on allocating public resources among competing demands.

However, it should be noted that the two decisions sketched above are not value-free. Both rest on loaded data-- earning levels which embody the past social values of the marketplace.

Neil W. Chamberlain, questioning the appropriateness of the cost accounting approach in evaluating investment in education, makes this point bluntly:

> By taking price and income data as 'given', one also accepts as given the existing distribution of property, wealth and income, as well as the existing distribution of bargaining power and positions of influence and control. . . . It would not be too extreme to suggest that the effect of [cost-benefit analysis as used by] the human capitalists is to channel social investment (and we are particularly interested in investment in education) along the lines which tend to serve those whom the economic system as a whole serves best. . . . The economist believes he is leaving choice to others, providing only objective data, but in fact the data with which he works are loaded with value considerations carried over from the past, affecting the magnitude of his calculations, and thereby influencing-- insofar as his calculations do influence-- choices among investments.[25]

Burton A. Weisbrod, another thoughtful commentator, reaches a supporting viewpoint via another route. He points out that benefits conferred by manpower programs for the disadvantaged are judged in terms of their three explicit or implicit goals: 1) greater efficiency in allocating resources, 2) improved economic stability, and 3) greater equity in the distribution of income. He concludes:

> Manpower programs may, but are not likely to, produce benefits in either of the first two forms that exeeed costs. Any evaluation of a manpower program should begin, therefore, with the presumption that the program is not economically efficient in the sense that benefits in the form of increased worker productivity (as measured by earnings) exceed the real cost of the program. . . . It does not follow that the programs are undesirable. For they have other virtues-- particularly insofar as they have favorable income distributional consequences. They do not merely raise earnings, but they do so for a group deemed "deserving". . . . and they do so in a manner that is socially preferred to transfer payment alternatives.[26]

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[25] "Some Further Thoughts on the Concept of Human Capital", Cost-Benefit Analysis of Manpower Programs, pp. 238-239.

[26] Op. cit., pp. 14-15.

Considerations such as these raise another question. Applying the Chamberlain argument to the WIN Program, for example, we concluded that the benefits possible through training women are limited by past social values still reflected in labor market practices. Applying the Weisbrod argument would suggest that the WIN Program itself has some side-effects (operating in the realm of social values and as yet not considered in cost-benefit analysis) which will alter distribution of income.

Examining these arguments, one might reasonably ask: If past social values are the snag preventing pay-off in manpower training for the disadvantaged, why not attack them directly by vigorously enforcing present laws designed to root them out of the labor market?

Perhaps the limitations of cost-benefit analysis as a guide for decisions on social policy lie not so much in its techniques as in the perspective of its technicians. The alternative to job training for the disadvantaged at public expense is usually considered to be income subsidies of some sort paid by the government. Perhaps another alternative should be given equal consideration: the expenditure of public money on legal action to bring labor market practices into line with current social values. According to Labor Department figures, most present enrollees in manpower programs would benefit:

> Nearly half of all enrollees in 1970 were Negroes, and another 15 percent were Spanish Americans. In Operation Mainstream, JOBS, and the Job Corps, in addition to the large proportions of Negroes enrolled, 10 to 12 percent of the participants belonged to other racial minorities-- American Indians, Eskimos, or Orientals. Women made up nearly half of the enrollees in all programs taken together.[27]

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[27] 1971 Manpower Report of the President, p. 39.

The relevant question for cost-benefit analysis of social policy then would become: How many dollars should go into manpower programs, how many into income subsidy, and how many into enforcement of antidiscrimination laws in order to maximize returns on our public investment in the disadvantaged?

While this formulation admits of no easy solution, it would at least take the issue of social values out of the cellar and into the equations, providing some conceptual grounds for eventually assigning it a dollar price.

PART II

STUDY METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The object of this study was to estimate the impact upon welfare mothers of WIN program services offered through the action of the New Jersey State Employment Service.

A. Conceptual Background

The program's economic and social impact upon participants was seen as a function of objective and subjective factors operating through three major variables.

1) Job opportunity-- both the nature of the local labor market and participants' knowledge of it.
2) Program services-- both the number, type and duration of services received, and participants' evaluation of them.
3) Characteristics of participants-- both demographic and behavioral-attitudinal factors.

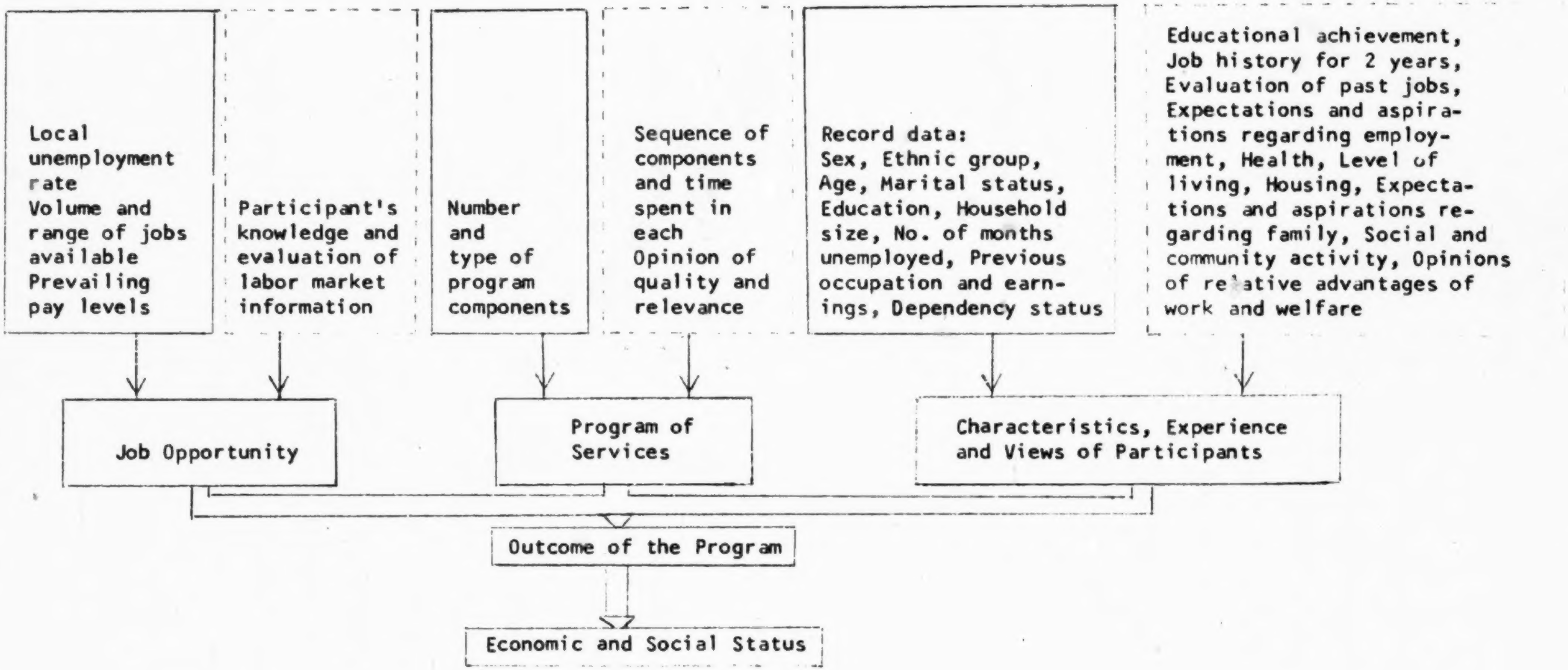
Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual relationships involved.

B. Study Design

The realities of the local labor market were seen as the ultimate constraint upon the program's success in placing trainees in jobs with earnings above welfare levels. Therefore, it was decided to concentrate study upon

FIGURE 1

CONCEPTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF FACTORS AFFECTING
THE OUTCOME OF WIN


Local unemployment rate
Volume and range of jobs available
Prevailing pay levels
Participant's knowledge and evaluation of labor market information
Number and type of program components
Sequence of components and time spent in each
Opinion of quality and relevance
Record data:
Sex, Ethnic group, Age, Marital status, Education, Household size, No. of months unemployed, Previous occupation and earnings, Dependency status
Educational achievement, Job history for 2 years, Evaluation of past jobs, Expectations and aspirations regarding employment, Health, Level of living, Housing, Expectations and aspirations regarding family, Social and community activity, Opinions of relative advantages of work and welfare
Job Opportunity
Program of Services
Characteristics, Experience and Views of Participants
Outcome of the Program
Economic and Social Status

Note: Solid lines indicate data available from existing records.
Broken lines indicate data collected through interviews.

WIN projects operating in two different types of labor markets, both familiar in New Jersey-- one diversified, relatively stable and prosperous; the other subject to seasonal fluctation but showing signs of growth. WIN projects in Paterson and Asbury Park, N.J., were subsequently selected as study sites; the former located in a stable market, the latter in a seasonal one.

State sources, basing their estimate on early experience with the program, stated that trainees were expected to move through the program in four to six months, from enrollment through post-placement followup. Hence, a six-month study period was designated, to begin November, 1969 and end in May, 1970. This interval later proved too short.

At each study site, the study population was defined as consisting of all mothers active in the WIN program on November 1, 1969, regardless of their enrollment date. For this population-- 220 women in Paterson, 203 in Asbury-- data on the objective factors listed in Figure 1 were collected from program records at the start of the study and then brought up to date six months later. These data were analyzed to yield descriptive information on:

1) Differences in clientele and program operation at the two sites.
2) Personal characteristics and program services associated with various outcomes-- i.e., employment, termination, or prolonged training.

To provide information on subjective factors listed in Figure 1 as well as more detail on objective factors, the 60 mothers most recently enrolled at each site were designated for interview at the beginning and end of the study period. In order to isolate effects due to the program, control groups were also interviewed at the same intervals. At each site, these consisted of 40 welfare mothers who were eligible for the program but did not enter it during the study period.

This experimental design, illustrated schematically in Figure 2, was expected to test the following hypotheses:

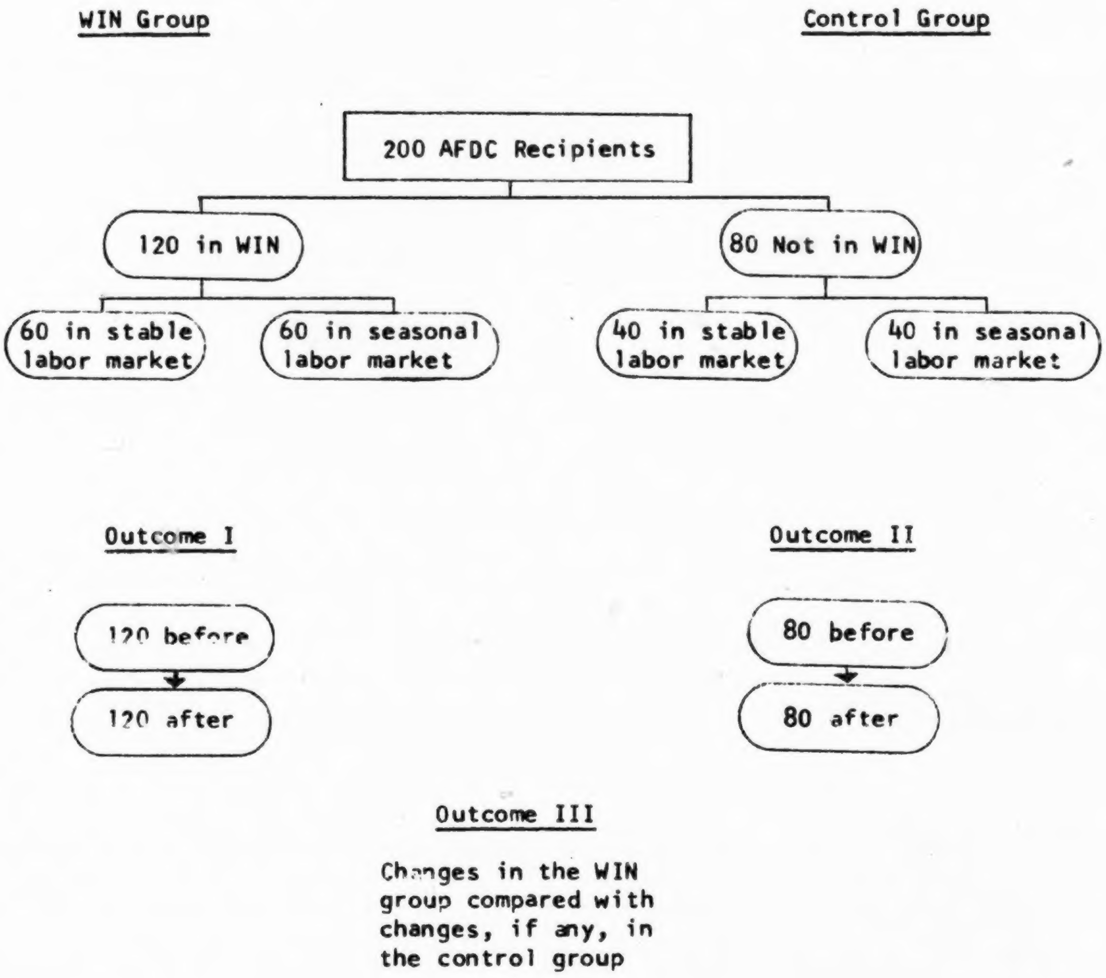
1) Significantly larger proportions of WIN participants than controls would be employed at the end of the study.
2) Earnings of employed participants would be markedly higher than those of employed controls.
3) Regardless of employment status, WIN groups would show significant attitudinal and behavioral change associated with labor force participation; controls would not.
4) At the end of the study period, WIN groups would differ significantly from controls in attitudes and behavior.

In addition, it was expected that participants in the stable market would show a better employment score than those in the seasonal market. Among the latter, it was conjectured, the most marked employment change would probably be a transition to more stable occupations and industries.

Unfortunately, the usual duration of training proved to be much longer than six months. So few of the WIN participants moved through the program

FIGURE 2

STUDY DESIGN - INTERVIEW DATA


WIN Group
Control Group
200 AFDC Recipients
120 in WIN
80 Not in WIN
60 in stable labor market
60 in seasonal labor market
40 in stable labor market
40 in seasonal labor market
Outcome I
Outcome II
120 before
120 after
80 before
80 after
Outcome III
Changes in the WIN group compared with changes, if any, in the control group

and into the labor market during the study period that none of the hypotheses concerning employment could be tested. Analysis of the interview data, therefore, was confined to examining behavioral and attitudinal change which may bear on labor force participation.

The chi-square statistic and t-tests were used, where indicated

C. Study Sites

In addition to the nature of the local labor market, two other criteria guided site selection. Both sites had to show a comparable degree of program development-- i.e., WIN projects at capacity enrollment, and similarity in size and in the distribution of enrollees among the training components. And, at each site, the working relationship between the Employment Service and the County Welfare Board had to be close and cooperative to assure a good prospect of obtaining access to control groups.

Asbury Park and Paterson were chosen, therefore, after an examination of annual work force data for all New Jersey labor market areas which have WIN projects, a review of statewide statistics on WIN operations, and consultation with the state WIN coordinators on both the Welfare and the Employment Service side.

The Asbury Park WIN program serves Monmouth County, a geographic unit which coincides with the Long Branch Labor Area. In 1968, this area had a resident population of 449,860 persons and an annual average work force of 145,000.[28]

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[28] Employment data discussed in this section is taken from Work Force Estimates, 1956-1968, New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry Division of Planning and Research, May 1969 (mimeo).

Since the county has more than 40 miles of Atlantic Ocean beach, employment has always been heavily dependent on the resort trade. However, an influx of light industry in recent years has reduced the annual average unemployment rate from 8 percent or higher for the years from 1957 through 1961 to approximately 5 percent from 1966 to 1968. The growing manufacturing industries in the area are electrical machinery and apparel, but government and trade are by far the largest employers.

Paterson, an old industrial city, is the seat of Passaic County and the largest of the three adjacent cities which give their names to the Paterson-Clifton-Passaic Labor Area-- an area which includes all of Bergen and Passaic Counties and has a total population of more than 1.3 million.

At the time this study began, the area had a labor force of 572,600, and a heavy contingent of manufacturing employment-- chiefly in chemicals, apparel and instrument manufacture. However, the largest employing industry was trade, with service second, and government third.

The annual average unemployment rate in this area had fluctuated between six and four percent since 1962; for 1968 it was 4.1 percent. Monthly unemployment figures showed very little seasonality. During the three years preceding the study, for example, the monthly unemployment rate moved from a low of about 3.5 percent in the fall and winter months to a high of 5.2 percent in July 1966, a range of only 1.7 percent, about half the range of the Long Branch rate for those years.

At both sites, WIN projects had been allocated 200 slots and were operating at capacity. Each had succeeded a Title V project and had inherited the last of its trainees and some of its training arrangements.

WIN staff at both sites said they were experiencing the same logistical problems: existing bus and train routes did not serve areas of industrial growth; and facilities for vocational training were too scarce. In Asbury, however, the latter scarcity was well-nigh absolute. At the study's start, an MDTA center had recently closed, a nearby Army base had just received budget cuts which limited its usefulness both as a source of work experience and as an employer, and there were few private vocational schools in the area. Paterson, by comparison, was much better off. The WIN staff was able to compensate for the lack of public training facilities by aggressively developing contacts with private institutions.

At both sites, most enrollees were drawn from the cities in which the projects were located and one or two adjoining municipalities.

D. Selecting Interview Samples

Population listing, the first step in sampling, disclosed that at both sites the number of admissions per month had varied sharply in the recent past, rising as high as 20 to 30 enrollments during recruiting drives, and dropping to one or two as the projects temporarily reached capacity.

Under these circumstances, it was impractical to collect an interview sample of 60 new enrollees by taking women as they came through the door. In addition to extending the duration and expense of the study by some unknown amount, that procedure could have yielded vastly different study periods for the two sites so that the employment outcomes for each could not have been judged against the same general economic conditions.

Therefore, it was decided to include in the WIN interview groups all women enrolled from June through November 1969-- the month which opened the study period. Thus, the WIN interview samples represent the most recent enrollees at each site-- women who had been in the program from one to five months at the time of their first interview. Hence, analysis of interview data provides a record of their attitudes and behavior at one point in time-- early in their WIN experience-- and compares it with attitudes and behavior at another point six months later.

In collecting the control group samples, similar problems were encountered and were resolved in a similar manner.

At both sites, the County Welfare Board proved to have a backlog of prospective enrollees awaiting admission to WIN as openings developed; hence, the request to hold 40 eligible women in abeyance for the duration of the study period was accepted without difficulty.

The question of which 40 women, however, did raise some problems. Two criteria guided the choice of sampling procedures. (1) Since the primary purpose of a control group is to measure the influence of exogenous factors-- in this case, factors such as a change in the business cycle, or in the level of welfare grants which could affect the employment outcome-- interviews with both control and participant groups had to occur at approximately the same points in time. (2) The procedure chosen had to minimize inconvenience to welfare clients and administrators. With these requirements in mind, the following procedures were worked out in consultation with the WIN supervisors of the welfare offices at each site.

At Asbury, all AFDC women referred to the Welfare WIN team by caseworkers starting in December 1970 entered the sample and were interviewed immediately after being screened. On the basis of records, it was estimated that it would take four to six weeks to fill the sample. Actually, unusually bad weather reduced the flow of candidates and added another two weeks.

At Paterson, the approach to the selection of the control group was slightly different. A four-month backlog existed of persons awaiting admission to the WIN Program. We were reluctant to use the older portion of this waiting list for two reasons. First, we felt that imposing a six-month hiatus upon persons who had already waited several months for admission to the Program would be undesirable from the standpoint of equity. Secondly, we felt that the more able and more highly motivated individuals would tend to move more quickly into the job market through their own efforts; hence, the less-able and less-willing would be over-represented on an old list. At the same time, however, the Welfare WIN team was short-handed and could not offer assistance by mounting a special recruitment effort for our benefit. We compromised, therefore, by drawing the control group from the most recent additions to the waiting list (predominantly persons referred during the month of November), and adding to it new referrals received during December.

The first round of 200 interviews began in November 1969 and, except for one or two stragglers, was completed in January. The second round began in May 1970 and was completed in July.

It should be noted that the practical constraints discussed above--the rate of influx into the program, budget and time requirements, and consideration of the interests of respondents and administrators-- ruled out any attempt at randomization or matching in sample selection, an experience apparently not uncommon among manpower researchers.[29]

Instead, it was reasoned, at each site the two groups represent welfare mothers, living in the same locality , screened as eligible for WIN, interviewed at the same points in time and thus subject to the same exogenous influences. The method used in sampling from this stream of persons who were alike in the most relevant respects was considered akin to acceptance sampling and the nearest approximization to randomization possible under the circumstances.

Attrition. In the first round of interviews, information was collected from 121 WIN participants and 82 control mothers. It was anticipated that the second interview would be more difficult to obtain since some sample members would have severed their connection with WIN or Welfare, moved out of the area, changed their names through marriage, been institutionalized, or died. An attrition rate of approximately 20 percent had been expected.

In fact, sample losses proved extremely light-- three control group members at each site; one WIN participant in Asbury and two in Paterson. Among these nine individuals, one died, one was hospitalized, and one returned to Puerto Rico. No information was available on the others. In the second round of data collection, 118 WIN participants and 76 control mothers were interviewed.

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[29] See, for example, the discussion of control groups by Cain and Hollister, op. cit., pp. 125-218.

CHAPTER 5

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND PROGRAM OPERATION

To provide descriptive information on participants and program operation, office records at each study site were examined for all active female enrollees who were not interviewed. This population--numbering 143 women in Asbury and 162 in Paterson-- had entered the program between its inception in November 1968 and the cut-off date for the interview sample, June 1, 1969. Information on these women was recorded initially in November 1969, and then brought up to date in May 1970, yielding a view of their program experiences over a period of 12 to 18 months following enrollment.

A. Characteristics, Welfare and Work History. At both sites, more than half of the WIN women were between 25 and 35 years of age, once married but now living apart from their husbands. Three was the median number of dependents. (See Table 1, Part III.) Negroes predominated at both sites comprising 60 percent of the Asbury enrollees and about 72 percent of the Paterson population. The tenth grade marked the median level of education. The majority had been on the AFDC rolls for a period no longer than two years during the five years preceding enrollment (see Table 2).

Better than three out of four had not worked in the last year, although more than half had done at least casual work at some time during the three-year period preceding entry. (See Table 3). Most of those who had worked had held only one job which lasted less than a year and ended more than a year before their enrollment. In general, that job had offered full-time year 'round employment but had paid no more than $1.70 per hour. At both locations, the last occupation was most likely to have been an operative job, and was also the longest and the highest paying job held during the three-year period.

B. Program Operation

Benchmark Data. In November 1969, six to 12 months after they entered WIN, 19.6 percent of the women in Asbury and 30.2 percent in Paterson were employed and were receiving follow-up.[30] The rest were distributed through the training components as shown in Table 4. The largest contingent, more than one-fifth, were receiving formal education; either adult basic education or preparation for a high school equivalancy certificate, (GED). However, more than one-quarter of the total at each site were in holding status: between components, and receiving no active service at the time of listing.

Among past services received, formal education also figured heavily with more than one-half at Paterson and over 40 percent at Asbury having attended classes at some time during their WIN enrollment. (See Table 5). Among other services, testing and counseling had been dispensed on a wide scale in Paterson but used relatively infrequently in Asbury. Vocational training went to one-quarter of the Paterson women, while Asbury with fewer facilities available had offered work experience as an alternative to one-third of its enrollees. Job referrals had been more common at Asbury than at Paterson but most persons at both sites had received none, or at any rate, had no form in their file indicating such action.

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[30] This service covered a 90-day period after placement. It usually consisted of a contact by letter or phone with the individual or her employer, asking whether she was still employed, whether she had received any raises, and offering assistance with any difficulties.

Six Months Later. By May 1970, 12 to 18 months after they entered WIN, 24.5 of the women in Asbury and 39.5 in Paterson were listed as working and receiving follow-up, or as having completed the program through employment lasting longer than the 90-day follow-up period. (See again Table 4). At Asbury, approximately four out of 10 had been terminated, that is, had left without completing the program; and at Paterson about three out of 10 were in the same category.

However, more than one-third in Asbury and three out of 10 in Paterson were still in intermediate stages of the program. At both sites the largest number in this group were in holding status (approximately two out of 10 in Asbury and one out of 10 in Paterson), awaiting assignment to some component. Although the proportion enrolled in formal education classes had shrunk to less than one-half of its volume six months earlier, nevertheless, one person in 10 at each site was still enrolled in the ABE or GED courses. About six percent of the Asbury participants and 12 percent of those in Paterson were receiving training directly related to occupations.

By this date, the proportion who had been exposed to each service had increased at each site, the largest change occurring in the percentage who had received counseling. (See again Table 5).

Duration of Training. For most female participants, the duration of the program from initial enrollment through completion or termination was clearly much longer than the four to six months initially estimated. By

May 1970, six out of 10 participants at both sites had been in the program 13 months or longer. (See Table 6). Formal education, the most widely utilized training component at both sites, was clearly a long-term endeavor. Although at both sites most enrollees in either the ABE or GED courses stayed there six months or less, GED often succeeded ABE, lengthening the span of time devoted to traditional education. At Asbury 44.8 percent of those receiving formal education were in class seven months or longer; at Paterson (where more than one-half of all participants received it), 55.4 percent were in class longer than six months. In Paterson also, institutional vocational training kept most of its enrollees five months or longer with the most frequent stay being nine months or longer. At Asbury Park, work experience also usually lasted five months or longer.

However, another factor contributing heavily to the length of the program was the amount of time most participants spent in holding status -- that is, between components, awaiting resolution of some problem, or awaiting referral to a job. Only approximately one-quarter of the participants in Asbury and one-third of those in Paterson spent less than one month in this predicament during the course of their enrollment, and at both sites more than 40 percent spent three months or longer.

Some of the delay, of course, was unavoidable: some training components did not offer individual instruction, so enrollees had to enter by a prescribed date or wait for the beginning of the next class. In other cases, illness or the domestic problems which are common in the dependent population, caused a trainee to drop out of a component for varying lengths of time. And cyclical and seasonal movements in the local job market sometimes made it impossible to place a job-ready individual immediately. Whatever the cause, however, the result was unfortunate: more than one-third of the participants spent a minimum of one-sixth to one-quarter of their total stay in the program marking time.

Counseling. At both sites, counseling was the most widespread service rendered. A counseling session, apart from the enrollment interview, was recorded for about two-thirds of the Asbury population and for almost all of the Paterson participants. Repeated counseling was also more frequent in Paterson where 60.5 percent of the participants had met with the counselor four or more times, compared with only 8.4 percent of the Asbury group. (See Table 7). At both sites, however, about 40 percent of the participants met with their counselor at least once during the six-month study period.

Referrals and Placements. By May 1970, judging from the records, the Asbury WIN unit had worked very hard at referrals--harder in fact than Paterson--but with less lasting results. (See Table 7). According to the files of Asbury enrollees, by May, 162 job referrals had been made, 80 persons--more than half the study population (56 percent)--receiving at least one. In Paterson the recorded volume of job referrals was 118 which went to 61 persons, 37.7 percent of the study population.

However, the rate of successful placement was higher in Paterson: of the 61 persons referred, 51 found jobs--that is, approximately 84 percent of the referrals resulted in employment. In Asbury, of the 80 persons referred only 47 were employed; i.e., about 59 percent of the referrals resulted in placement. (See Table 8).

The difference in results could be due in part, to differences in program operation. Paterson people, for example, could have been better prepared for employment by superior training facilities or better motivated to work by more intensive counseling. However, while this cannot be ruled out as a possibility, it must be remembered that the two sites were selected because they represent different types of labor markets--Paterson relatively strong and stable; Asbury smaller, less diversified, and subject to seasonal swings. If all else were equal, the Paterson program would still be expected to show greater employment results than Asbury.

Other data from this phase of the analysis tends to support the view that the crucial difference lay in the nature of the local labor market. In Paterson by May, 46 persons had also found jobs through their own efforts or through the private vocational schools, while in Asbury only 12 managed to do this. At each site, several persons had held more than one job since enrollment and a number of these had been placed both by WIN and through their own efforts. Again, as evidence of the difference in the labor markets, multiple job-finding was more common in Paterson than in Asbury. During the six-month study period, for example, four persons in Paterson accounted for 11 jobs, one of them finding four successive employers. In Asbury, only one person had held more than one job in this period and no one had held more than two.

In Paterson by May, 80 persons, almost half of the study group (49.4 percent) had landed 113 jobs since enrollment in the program. In Asbury, for the same period, 53 persons (37.1 percent of the study population) had landed 67 jobs.

The rate of job retention was also better in Paterson where 64 persons, 80 percent of those who found jobs, were still employed in May 1970 compared with 35 persons, 66 percent of those who found jobs, in Asbury. By May, 1970, therefore, 12 to 18 months after enrollment, 24.5 percent of the Asbury population and 39.5 percent of the Paterson population were employed. Both programs had posted gains over the final six months--in November 1969, 19.6 percent had been employed in Asbury, 30.2 percent in Paterson--and, again, Paterson had shown the greater increase.

It is apparent that, especially in a weak labor market, a large volume of job hunting is required to achieve relatively small results. In Asbury less than 20 percent of the total jobs secured were found without WIN assistance; in Paterson, approximately half were. And of the total persons placed, about one-third were out of work by May in Asbury,[31] while in Paterson only 20 percent were unemployed by that date.

Job Characteristics. At both sites, most women who had found jobs had worked only a few months by May 1970, with the Paterson employed showing somewhat longer tenure. In Asbury, among those who had held at least one job by that date, available information indicated that about one-half had worked two months or less. In Paterson, one-half had worked four months or less.

Median rate of pay was slightly higher in Paterson where more than half whose files showed wage data were making more than $1.90 per hour. In Asbury, less than half fell in this pay category. (See Table 9). At both sites clerical jobs constituted the biggest source of employment with service jobs running second. Among those for whom there were data, three persons in Asbury and 14 in Paterson found only part-time employment in their first job. For a few additional persons (one in Asbury and two in Paterson), the first job was known to be seasonal.

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[31] In Asbury, among the 18 who had lost their jobs by May 1970, eight were subsequently terminated from the program because of health or child-care problems, three returned to training components, and seven were in holding awaiting referral either back to training or on to future job prospects. Comparable information was not collected in Paterson.

Among the persons who had held more than one job since enrollment, the second job did not appear markedly different from the first in pay or occupation, but the one individual in Paterson who had found three jobs increased her pay level substantially in the third job, moving from a bracket of $1.91 - $2.10 per hour to $2.31 - $2.50 per hour.

C. Assessing Employment Gains.

At the end of the study period, the employment score of the two projects studied -- 24.5 percent in Asbury and 39.5 percent in Paterson -- exceeded most pre-program estimates of the employability of welfare mothers. In Paterson, the large diversified market, the outcome was almost identical with a forecast made by Hausman, on the basis of a New York City survey.[32]

For those who got jobs, the program appeared to yield a marked upgrading in occupations and some upward shift in pay. (See Table 9). For groups for whom data were available, the last job held before entering the program was compared with the first job secured after completing it. At both sites, among those who found at least one job after completing the program, the most pronounced occupational change was the movement away from unskilled jobs as operatives (usually as assemblers or floor girls) and into clerical work. At Asbury, the proportion employed as clerks rose from 4.9 percent in the last pre-program job to 41.5 percent in the first job after completing the program. At Paterson, the change was from 17.7 percent to 42.7 percent.

The significance of this change should not be underrated. Although clerical work, in general, is relatively low paid, it is less subject to seasonal and cyclical lay-offs, and usually offers more attractive and comfortable working conditions than unskilled production work. For the large percentage of enrollees who were Black or Spanish-speaking, movement into the white-collar ranks may also represent a real breakthrough-- a widening of the opportunity to do the clean, light, and higher-prestige work which was formerly reserved for native-born whites. Since most clerical jobs require pre-training at the applicant's expense (at the least, a relatively high degree of literacy; more often, specific skills such as typing or key-punch abilities), it is unlikely that many in the WIN population could have entered this occupation without the help of the program. In Asbury, where the gains in clerical employment were the greatest, employment in private households and other casual work also disappeared. In Paterson, the rise in clerical and service occupations was coupled with a sharp decline in factory work and a small drop in household and casual employment. At both sites, there was some slight movement out of seasonal jobs and into year-round work.

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[32] See Chapter 1 for detailed discussion.

The increase in pay rates following WIN participation has to be interpreted with caution since the last job held before entering the program might have occurred as long ago as 1965; hence, the secular rise in pay rates during the last five years as well as changes in the state and federal minimum wages undoubtedly account for some upward movement.

In Asbury, almost one-half (46.7 percent) of those for whom pay information was available had earned no more than the present state minimum wage ($1.50 per hour effective since January 1969) in their last job before entering the program; after training, the proportion earning $1.50 per hour or less had shrunk to 24 percent. About two-thirds at this location had earned $1.70 per hour or less in their pre-WIN job; more than half had earnings above that figure in their post-WIN job. At Paterson, there was a similar shrinkage in the proportion earning no more than the minimum wage, from 23 percent in the last job before training to 12 percent in the first job after training. Before training, 62.2 percent in Paterson had earned \$1.70 per hour or less; after training, approximately the same percentage earned \$1.91 per hour or more.

However, in view of family size (a median mumber of three dependents), it seemed unlikely that many graduates could become self-sufficient through their first job. The N. J. Department of Institutions and Agencies estimates that a 40-hour work week with earnings of \$2.50 per hour would yield a family of four approximately the same level of living as that provided by welfare. Although this standard assumes that two of the four persons are adults, the earnings of most of the employed mothers fell far enough short of it to suggest that family independence was a distant prospect. Only one-third of those employed in Paterson and one-fifth in Asbury had pay rates above \$2.10 per hour; only 11 percent in Paterson and none in Asbury were earning more than \$2.50. Moreover, 18.7 percent in Paterson and 8.8 percent in Asbury were working less than 35 hours per week.

Summary

To identify enrollee characteristics and to provide a long-run look at program operation, the records were examined for all active female enrollees who were not interviewed-- 143 women in Asbury and 162 in Paterson.

At each site, the majority were Negroes, the median level of education was the tenth grade, and the median number of dependents was three. About two-thirds had not worked longer than six months in the three-year period preceding enrollment, and in most cases even this employment had ended well over a year before entry into WIN. By May 1970, 12 to 18 months after their entry, approximately one-third of the women at each site were still in training; 30 to 40 percent had been terminated (i.e., left without completing the program); and the remainder -- about 25 percent at Asbury, 40 percent at Paterson-- were employed, but in many cases still receiving follow-up attention.

The employment figures given above exceed most previous estimates of the employability of AFDC mothers. Moreover, among those who were working in May 1970, there was evidence of occupational upgrading--largely from blue-collar to white-collar jobs which generally offer better prospects of stable employment. Pay rates also shifted up although the general upward drift of wages during the long interval since the last job makes this a debatable indicator of progress attributable to the program. And for most graduates, earnings appeared insufficient for family support when judged against the New Jersey welfare standards.

The training process proved more lengthy than anticipated. Most enrollees spent 13 months or longer in the program. Formal education (ABE and/or GED classes) usually took six months or longer; vocational training or work experience, five months or longer. In addition, few enrollees spent less than one month in holding status.

Differences in operation of the program at the two sites also emerged in the analysis of records. Formal education was the most widely utilized training component at both sites. Apart from this, however, Paterson relied heavily on testing and counseling but made relatively few referrals or placements through the WIN staff. Asbury offered less diagnosis and counseling but concentrated on providing many and repeated referrals.

In addition to its higher employment score, Paterson also showed a much higher proportion of self-placement, a better rate of job retention, and more multiple job-finding among its graduates. The difference appeared due chiefly to Paterson's larger, more diversified labor market and greater access to private vocational training resources which supplied their own placement services. Another factor which may have been influential, however, was the more intensive supportive preparation of the enrollee at that site, which may have better equipped her to conduct her own job hunt.

CHAPTER 6

THE EMPLOYED, THE DROPOUTS, AND THOSE STILL IN TRAINING

In this section, analysis was guided by the question: How do the women who held jobs at the end of the study period differ in their personal characteristics and their program experiences from those who remained in training, and those who dropped out?

To attempt an answer, enrollee files for the interview group at each site were added to the population for whom only record data had been available; thus, the data in this section are based on all female participants who had been enrolled in the program from its inception through November 1969 and who were actively connected with it at the latter date-- a population of 220 women in Paterson and 203 in Asbury Park. This population was divided into three groups on the basis of their status in May 1970: the employed, those still in the program, and those who had dropped out (see Table 10). Chi-square tests were used to identify statistically significant differences among the groups in respect to the factors discussed below (see Table 11).

Personal Characteristics and Welfare History

As Table 12 indicates, the three groups at each site did not differ greatly in the personal characteristics examined. At Asbury, terminations tended to be a little younger than the other groups and were more inclined to have very large families. At Paterson, the employed group was least likely to have one child and most likely to have five or more. However, differences among the three groups in these characteristics were not statistically significant.

Welfare history-- that is, the length of time on AFDC during the five years preceding enrollment-- was not a significant discriminator among the various groups in Asbury Park (see Table 13). However, in Paterson, the differences between the three groups in regard to this characteristic were significant at the 90 percent level of probability, with the employed group, surprisingly, having the largest share of long-term welfare recipients, while the group still in training had the largest share of those recently added to the welfare rolls.

WIN Program Experience of the Three Groups

Length of Time in the Program. Number of months in the WIN program was also related to program status but not in the manner expected (see Table 14). A priori, one might expect that dropouts as a class would show the shortest stay in the program, and this, in fact, proved to be the case at both sites. Further, one might reason that those who first found jobs as a result of a new program, probably required less preparatory work and, therefore, should also show a relatively short stay in the program. This appeared to be the case in Asbury where more than half of the employed group had been in the program for one year at the most-- a conjecture later supported by other data. However, in Paterson, the employed group constituted the class of longest-term trainees, almost three-quarters having received from 13 to 17 months of training (see Table 14).

At both sites, number of months in the program showed a statistically significant relationship with employment status and in Paterson the association between length of training and successful job hunting appeared extremely strong. In Paterson, of the 102 people who had spent 13 months or longer in the WIN program, approximately one-half were employed in May 1970. In Asbury, of the 95 persons who had spent that much time in the program, only 21 percent were employed. The difference, of course, largely reflects differences in employment opportunity-- a stronger demand in the Paterson labor market which made possible placement of trainees who were initially far from "job-ready". Coupled with the information which follows on type of services received (and, presumably required) by the employed group at each site, it also strongly suggests a difference between the two programs in their approach to their mutual goal.

Counseling and Testing. At Asbury, counseling appeared to have no relationship to the outcome of the program. More than half of all groups had received no more than one counseling session. As a class, terminations received the least counseling (43.5 percent received none-- possibly because repeated failure to answer call-in notices can serve as a cause for termination) but the difference was not statistically significant. Testing was a significant discriminator among groups at the 90 percent level of probability, with the most testing being received by those still in training.

In Paterson, counseling and testing showed strong association with program status, both registering chi-square values which were significant at the 99 percent level of probability. At this site, as at Asbury, terminations were the least-counseled group, but in Paterson, only 10 persons out of a total population of 220 escaped counseling entirely, and even among the terminations, 44.8 percent received four or more counseling sessions.

Formal Education. At both sites, adult basic education showed a strong association with program status. However, at Asbury, it appeared to have an inverse relationship to employment since the group holding jobs were the least likely to have received it. In Paterson, on the other hand, almost half the employed group had attended ABE classes; and the duration of their attendance was very similar to that of the terminations.

General educational development (courses leading to a high school equivalency certificate) was statistically significant in discriminating between groups in both Asbury and Paterson. However, in Asbury, the record of the employed group was similar to that of the program dropouts in respect to this educational component; in other words, the deviant group consisted of the persons still in training. In Paterson, on the other hand, terminations were the group that differed. At both sites, the number of months in the GED course was a statistically significant discriminator among groups, but at both locations the behavior of the employed group and the dropouts were similar: both tended to stay three months or less in the course, whereas those in training tended to stay longer.

Total time spent in formal education components was a significant discriminator at both sites, but at Asbury successful job-hunters were the least likely to enter these components and even those who did, tended to have a shorter stay than members of other groups. At Paterson, on the other hand, the employed group was like the terminations in its rate of entry into the formal educational components but tended to stay considerably longer, although not as long as those who remained in training at the end of the study period.

Orientation and Work Experience. Orientation was another variable associated with program status at both locations, but again, at Asbury successful job-hunters tended not to receive it, whereas in Paterson the employed and the terminations had similar patterns.

Work experience was received by too few people in Paterson to make possible an analysis, but in Asbury where it was frequently used, it was strongly related with employment status. About two-thirds of the successful job-hunters spent some time in work experience while relatively few members of the other two groups were exposed to this component.

Institutional Vocational Training. At both sites, institutional vocational training was a strong discriminator among the three groups and at Asbury the employed were far more likely to have received it than the other two, whereas at Paterson, the terminations were the exceptional group with very few receiving it.

Job Referrals. At both sites, job referrals and the length of time which elapsed from enrollment to first job referral had a very strong relationship with program status. At Asbury, almost all of the employed group (95.5 percent) had received job referrals, whereas less than one-half of either of the other two groups had been referred to prospective employers. Moreover, the employed group had been referred more quickly than the others, approximately 60 percent receiving their first job referral within five months after enrollment. At Paterson, the employed group was also much more likely to have received referrals, but more than half of those who did so spent six months or longer in the program before their first referral.

Practice at the two sites also differed with regard to the number of referrals, another factor strongly associated with program status at both locations. At Asbury, more than 60 percent of the employed group received two or more referrals while not more than one-quarter of the other two groups were sent out to a prospective employer more than once. At Paterson, only one-third of the successful job-hunters received more than one referral but this proportion was also far greater than that experienced by the other two groups.

Holding. At both sites, more than half the terminations spent five months or longer in holding during their stay in the WIN program, a record at sharp variance with the experience of the other two groups.

Summary

In summary, then, the data in this section suggest that at Asbury the successful job-hunters moved through the program rapidly, were less in need of orientation and formal education than the other groups, and were routed quickly toward the components which are clearly work-related-- institutional training and work experience. In addition, and perhaps most important, they received a larger share of initial referrals and well over half of the repeated referrals. Although they did not differ significantly from the others in the personal characteristics examined here, it seems likely that they were an elite group, recognized as more job-ready when they entered the program.

In Paterson, on the other hand, the employed group gave fewer indications of requiring less preparation. In fact, in many respects, their experience in the program was curiously similar to that of the dropouts. Similar proportions of the job-holders and the dropouts received orientation and basic education and the amount of time spent in the latter component was similar. Moreover, rather than moving through the program in record time, the employed group tended to stay with it longer than the others.

They differed from the dropouts in that they received a much greater exposure to institutional vocational training, but in this regard they were much like those who remained in the program at the end of the study period. The one factor in which they differed perceptibly from the other two groups was in exposure to referral and multiple referrals. This suggests that the successful job hunter in Paterson was much like the other enrollees at that site-- distinguished chiefly by her perserverance.

The fact that one-third of the Paterson employed group appeared to find their jobs through sources other than the WIN program or the Employment Service might indicate that this group also differed in initiative from the others. However, many, if not most of the placements in Paterson in the early days of the WIN program were made by the private vocational schools and about 40 percent of the employed group at that site was enrolled in such schools; hence, some caution is in order in interpreting "self-placement" as evidence of differing motivation.

At both locations, however, it seems fairly clear that the components most closely related to employment are those directly connected with work or labor market activity--vocational training (and in Asbury, work experience) and above all, wide exposure to prospective employers through referral.

CHAPTER 7

INTERVIEW DATA: THE LIFE OF A WELFARE MOTHER

Information from the interview groups was meant to serve two purposes. In addition to testing hypotheses on the outcomes of WIN, it would help set the program into its context in the life of a welfare mother.

Testing of hypotheses is discussed in Chapter 8. The present chapter uses the interview data to establish a picture of some of the circumstances of life on welfare at the two study sites and to sketch the concerns of the respondents-- 121 WIN mothers and 82 controls.

From the point of view of the actual or potential consumer of WIN's services, the interviews illustrate advantages and drawbacks of participation, and suggest the opportunities and obstacles facing administrators of this program or its successor. However, it is hoped that this information may also prove useful to those seeking to perfect techniques of evaluating manpower programs. In combination with other studies of programs for the disadvantaged, it may help identify elusive costs or benefits common to all, which could then be systematically measured and weighted.

A. Personal Characteristics

As detailed in Chapter 4, WIN and control groups at each site were identical in the following respects. Both were welfare mothers screened as eligible for WIN, both lived in the same cities, and-- central to the purpose of the study-- both faced the same market conditions over the same period.

Their other similarities as well as their differences are discussed below and some implications of variation are examined. Merging all WIN participants for comparison with all controls as is done in Chapter 8 eliminated differences due to location which are highlighted here.

Age. In age, the WIN groups at each site were similar to each other and to the larger "non-interview" population which had preceded them in WIN enrollment (see Table 15): most women at each site were in their 20's and 30's. Control groups at both sites tended to be slightly older; nevertheless, even among these groups, well over half of the women were under 35.

Marital Status and Number of Dependents. In marital status, the WIN interview group at Paterson did not differ much from either the control group or the larger WIN population. However, at Asbury both the WIN interview group and the larger WIN population had unusually high proportions recorded as married and a relatively small proportion recorded as divorced or separated. This difference appears to be a matter of legal definition rather than of family composition: only three WIN interview respondents were living in the same households as their husbands at the time of the initial interview, although 29 of the group were still legally married.

In Paterson, three was the median number of dependents for the interview groups as it had been for the non-interview population at both sites. In the Asbury control group, three was the modal number of dependents, although the group was equally divided between those with two or less and those with three or more. WIN respondents at that site had smaller families, two-thirds having only one or two dependents.

Education. The tenth grade represented the median level of education in all interview groups as in the larger WIN enrollment at each site.

Ethnic Composition. Negroes represented about two-thirds of the WIN interview groups at each site and two-thirds of the Paterson control group--a proportion comparable to their representation in the larger WIN population at each site. However, the Asbury control group was about equally divided between Negroes and non-Spanish-speaking whites, while in Paterson about one-quarter of the control group members were Spanish-speaking whites.

The change in the racial mix at both locations may reflect some gradual change occurring in the AFDC population at each location over time. The group referred to as "the larger WIN population" were those who enrolled in the program between its inception and May 1969, while the WIN interview sample represented enrollees accepted between June and November 1969 and the control groups were composed of women who were waiting entry to the program at the latter date.

Welfare History. The welfare histories of the various groups lend some weight to the speculation voiced above (see Table 16). At both locations, the early WIN enrollees had a median stay on welfare of 24 months during the five years preceding enrollment. Among the WIN interview groups at both sites, at least half had been AFDC recipients for 18 months or less, while in both control groups half or more had received this type of aid for 12 months or less. This would suggest that in Paterson, increasing proportions of new employable AFDC recipients are Spanish-speaking, while in Asbury the group growing at the time of the study were the "other whites".

Some Implications of Nonequivalence. The difference in the welfare tenure of WIN and control groups probably is a consequence of program logistics. Candidates at both sites had to wait for an opening. Therefore, at any given point in time, those on the waiting list would probably tend to have a shorter welfare history than those already enrolled.

The influence on employability of longer tenure on welfare is debatable. Popular speculation suggests that a "habit" of dependency may become entrenched. On the other hand, some of the interview data suggested that a personal as well as an economic crisis often preceded a woman's entry onto the welfare rolls. In that case, the longer interval of at least minimal financial security, together with the personal counseling received from caseworkers, may provide a recuperative period which enhances her employability.

The employment effects of the difference in racial mix can be estimated with somewhat more certainty. An analysis of statewide data on the New Jersey WIN program indicated that Negro women enrolled were significantly more likely to become employed than were white women.[33] Hence, the unusually high proportion of white women in the Asbury control group would tend to depress its employment score, giving the WIN group a comparative advantage. Second interviews showed no significant difference in the employment rates of WIN and control mothers (see Chapter 8 for discussion).

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[33] Memo from Nancy Begin, Division of Planning and Research, New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, to Robert White, State WIN Coordinator, October 2, 1970. Comparing "successful" terminations to total terminations, Mrs. Begin found that: "Black female trainees are more likely to be successful than are white females (significance level: .0001)."

B. Social Characteristics and Behavior

The interviews yielded a great deal of detailed social and economic information on WIN and control mothers. Social data are discussed in this section, economic in the next.

Families of Respondents. The median household in three of the four interview groups consisted of four members. Asbury WIN participants, however, registered a median of three (see Table 17). There was no statistically significant change in household size during the six months studied (see Chapter 8).

In most cases, other members of the respondent's household were exclusively children, and more than half of each group had some child or children under six years of age. When another relative was present, it was usually the maternal grandmother or a younger brother or sister of the respondent. Husbands were more frequently members of the households of control groups, but neither control group had more than five such intact families.

Among the youngsters, almost all of those aged six to 17 were in school at both locations, but a relatively large proportion of the Paterson children seemed to be having school problems-- possibly a reflection of the heavy representation of Spanish-speaking respondents at that location (see Table 18).

In Paterson, about one out of five WIN participants, and one out of three control group members, had at least one child who was two or more years older than the usual age for his grade level. Curiously enough, the group which appeared most aware of scholarship problems was the Asbury control group which showed the lowest percentage of "slow learners" as judged by the standard above. Ten percent of this group rated at least one child "a poor student"-- a view expressed by a smaller fraction in every other group. This factor showed statistically significant change over the study period. Control groups as a whole increased their estimate of poor scholarship among their children, while WIN groups remained unchanged (see Chapter 8 for discussion).

Asked: "Have any of your children had problems in school?", about one-third of each Paterson group answered yes, a proportion almost twice as high as that reported by the Asbury mothers. In Paterson, fighting was far and away the most common behavior problem, with scholarship second. In Asbury, fighting was differentially less important and, among WIN participants at that site, scholarship and health were the chief sources of concern.

More than 20 percent of each group had at least one child over 16 who was not in school, and for two groups-- the Asbury controls and the Paterson WIN group-- the proportion was greater than 60 percent. Most of these older children were married. At least 10 percent of the two control groups also had children under 18 who were living away from home. In most cases, these children were staying with other relatives.

Child-care Arrangements. More than two-thirds of the women in each interview group had worked out a child-care arrangement while holding some past job, but only five among the 203 respondents had managed to obtain organized group day care. In most cases, relatives and non-relatives had been about equally used as baby sitters, a service for which respondents had paid from $6.00 to $20.00 per week. Most of those who had made such arrangements in the past said they were very satisfied with the results.

Among WIN respondents at the first interview most said that the Bureau of Children's Service had not been required to make child-care arrangements for them-- either the children were too old to require such service or the mother had made her own arrangements. Again, few had placed children in an organized day-care program-- five in Paterson, one in Asbury. Most were relying on neighbors and other non-relatives and said they were very satisfied with the arrangement thus far. Few knew how much the baby-sitters were being paid.

Mobility. Asbury women appeared somewhat less mobile than Paterson respondents. In Asbury more than four out of 10 had been born in New Jersey and about half had lived in their present area since childhood. In Paterson only two out of 10 WIN participants and less than one in 10 among the control groups had been born in this state; approximately one-third of each group, however, had lived in their present area since childhood. In all groups, the majority of the respondents had spent at least six years in their present area (see Table 19).

Among those who had come into the area from other locations, the single reason most frequently given in Asbury was to visit relatives or friends, while in Paterson the impetus was most frequently economic-- the desire to find work. More than one-half of the women in all groups said they liked their present location and, among the minority who would move, most would merely relocate within the state, Asbury women most frequently citing better employment opportunities elsewhere and Paterson women most often mentioning more attractive living conditions.

Housing. Within their respective areas, however, respondents had been quite mobile in the recent past. At the time of the first interview, at least four out of 10 in each group had spent one year or less at their current address. Among both WIN and control mothers, the proportion who had moved within the last six months dropped significantly in the second interview-- probably because the school year coincided with the study period (see Chapter 8 for discussion).

In almost all cases, the last move was voluntary-- an attempt to acquire more adequate living quarters. For example, in answer to another question, one Asbury woman said her life was better these days because she had recently moved into a three-bedroom apartment in a public housing project. With five children, aged 15 to 19, she had been sleeping on a living room couch for the last eight years.

Asbury respondents were less likely to live in public housing than were Paterson sample members (see Table 20). Even in Paterson, however, only one out of five of the WIN participants and one out of four of the control group members lived in public housing. At both sites, approximately half of the respondents lived in apartments, the other half in houses which were usually also multi-family dwellings.

Home ownership was almost non-existent in Paterson where only two respondents, both members of the control group, were owners. In Asbury about 15 percent of the WIN group and about 13 percent of the control group owned the houses they occupied. None of the owners had completely paid for their houses, and mortgage payments ranged from $80 to $180 per month with payments most frequently falling between $141 and $160.

Rents were somewhat higher in Asbury with approximately half of both the WIN and control groups paying more than $100 per month. In Paterson, well over half paid less than that amount.

Less than 15 percent of any group shared living quarters and expenses with another adult, and in these cases the other individual was usually the respondent's mother.

About six out of 10 respondents at both sites said their housing units consisted of five or fewer rooms with two or less bedrooms. The Asbury WIN group appeared most dissatisfied with its housing conditions. In this group, less than one-half of the respondents said that their present housing was in good condition. In all other groups, the majority rated their housing as good, and in the Paterson control group, that proportion rose to 80 percent.

Among those who had housing problems, the need for repair and paint caused the greatest number of complaints. About one out of 10 WIN participants at both sites also complained about rodents or vermin, a few relating harrowing incidents. One women, the 28-year old mother of three youngsters under 11, said roaches had invaded her refrigerator and the constant fear of finding them in food was driving her to distraction:

> When I hear my five-year-old open the refrigerator,
> I drop whatever I'm doing and race to the kitchen.
> I have to check his milk before he drinks it.

At least one in 10 said their living quarters were poorly heated during the winter and, in the Paterson control group, the proportion rose to 20 percent.

Household Goods. One measure of the level of living which can be expected to show changes over time is the ownership of household goods. In order to provide some baseline data on this score, respondents were asked whether they had certain common household appliances, whether the article was in working order, whether they had ever had one if they did not at present, and whether they were currently making payments on it. The list included a number of relatively expensive appliances: a washing machine, dryer, refrigerator, sewing machine, and television set; and several small appliances-- a radio, electric iron, record player, mixer, hair dryer.

For each specific item, ownership was fairly constant among all groups at the first interview. Among the heavier appliances, television sets enjoyed the most wide-spread ownership with more than 90 percent of each group possessing one-- in fact, the only good more widely held was the electric iron. At Table 21 indicates, more than two-thirds of the respondents in all groups had television sets, electric irons, refrigerators and record players. About 30 to 40 percent in each group had washing machines, sewing machines and electric mixers. Twenty to 30 percent owned hair dryers. Clothes dryers were the least common item. Ownership of two appliances, radios and record players, increased significantly for the WIN mothers during the study period (see Chapter 8).

For most items, between five and 10 percent of those who had the appliance said it was not in working order. For item after item, the Paterson WIN group and the Asbury Park control contained the highest proportion of persons saying that they had once owned a specific item but no longer did. Among goods on which payments were being made, television sets exceeded all others with 19 respondents in debt on this score. Refrigerators and record players ranked second with 10 respondents paying on each, and washing machines were third with nine persons making payments. However, 70 percent or more of the respondents in all groups were making no payments. Among those who were purchasing an appliance on credit almost all were buying only one, with payments generally ranging from $11 to $30 per month.

Cars and Telephones. In addition to representing conveniences which verge upon being necessities, an automobile and a telephone can be an aid in securing and keeping a job. Two-thirds or more of all groups said they had telephones in their homes at the initial interviews. At both sites the proportion was higher among WIN participants-- probably reflecting the fact that most were already receiving WIN incentive payments and training allowances. Moreover, the proportion increased significantly during the study period (see Chapter 8).

Conversely, car ownership was somewhat higher among control groups, and did not change significantly during the study. The control mothers' more recent entry onto the welfare rolls may account for the fact that more of them possessed this consumer durable. At the same time, the large initial outlay required would prevent its being a first purchase for most WIN enrollees.

At any rate, in Paterson, where public transportation was fairly good, less than 15 percent of either group owned cars and less than 10 percent had them in working order. In Asbury, where a car was a much more important element in employability, about one-third of the control group and one-fourth of the WIN participants were owners. However, only 25 percent and 18 percent, respectively, had cars in working condition at the first interview.

Health Care. In New Jersey, most medical care for recipients of AFDC is free and there was evidence that this service was important in the lives of the welfare mothers. In all groups, more than 90 percent of the respondents said they could get to a doctor, or hospital or clinic for themselves and their children when necessary "most of the time".

Moreover, this service was heavily utilized. Less than 20 percent in any group said they had not taken one of their children to a doctor during the last year (see Table 22). And more than one-fourth of the Asbury groups and almost half of both Paterson groups had made more than six visits. In general, the groups had sought only slightly less medical attention for themselves, with less than one-fourth in any group not having visited a doctor during the last year on her own behalf, and more than one-third of every group except the Paterson controls making more than six visits.

Dental care, however, was much less widespread and less frequently utilized by all groups. Only about one-third of the women in each group said they had managed to get the children to a dentist regularly and, except for the Paterson WIN members, more than one-third of each group had not taken any of their children to a dentist within the last year.

For the Asbury WIN group, the standard of dental care for themselves was about the same as for their children; for all other groups, it was quite a bit worse. No more than one in five in Paterson saw a dentist regularly on her own account and more than one-half of each control group had not visited a dentist within the last year.

Attention to children's eyesight-- vision tests and glasses-- was somewhat more frequent among the WIN groups than among the control groups. However, attention to their own sight problems was very markedly more frequent among WIN participants, probably because the physical examination which preceded their entry into the program included a vision test and correction of any defects.

The majority of respondents in each group said that welfare had paid the total cost of their health care during the last year. However, about one-third of the Paterson respondents and about one-fourth of those in Asbury had paid some medical expenses during that period. In most cases, the out-of-pocket expense came to a total of $35 or less, but in the Asbury control group approximately one out of five said they had spent more than $85. Occasionally these expenses occurred before the person had entered the welfare rolls, but several respondents cited costs which were not covered by welfare: laboratory tests in one case, the cost of a consulting medical opinion in another, treatment of an allergy which required frequent visits in a third.

Although the quantity of health care received by the respondents is impressive, there were several complaints about its quality. Paterson respondents particularly said it was hard to find doctors and, especially, dentists who would accept welfare patients, since many refused to undertake the paperwork necessary for payment. Other respondents told interviewers that welfare would pay the cost of only one pair of glasses a year, and if a child broke his glasses before the year was out, replacement could create a budgetary crisis for the family. One Paterson woman was also vehemently bitter about the attitude of health care professionals toward relief recipients. After supporting her two sons through 14 years work as a domestic with a single family, she had been forced onto the welfare rolls by illness. She said:

> On relief, sick people are treated like test tubes or animals by doctors and druggists. . . In fact, not as well as animals.

Social Activity. Initially, more than 60 percent of the Asbury women were members of some club or organization, whereas in Paterson less than half of either panel belonged to any formal group. At both locations, WIN participants tended to be more active than the control groups. In all groups, church membership was the most common activity with PTA membership second, and membership in a social or special interest organization third (see Table 23).

During the study period which included the winter months, both WIN and control mothers cut back on these activities, but the decrease was statistically significant only for the controls.

C. Economic Characteristics and Behavior

Work History. At the time of the first interview, recent work experience in all groups was relatively sparse although less than one in 12 had never worked.[34] In each group at least three-quarters of the women who had been employed had been factory operatives or service workers, including domestics, in the last job (see Table 24). For both interview groups in Paterson, manufacturing was the major employing industry with service second. In Asbury, the service industry had employed the largest group among the WIN trainees, while manufacturing and service industries employed equal proportions of the control group. At both sites more than one-half of the respondents had held their last job no longer than one year. For more than 10 percent of the women at all locations in all groups, it had been a part-time job and for more than 15 percent it offered only seasonal employment.

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[34] A few women in each group were employed at the time of the first interview--a total of seven in Asbury including two members of the control group, and three in Paterson, also including two controls. For all but four, the jobs offered only part-time employment.

About one-third of the women in each group at each site had earned no more than the present state minimum wage ($1.50 per hour) in the last job. Paterson women, on the whole, had better past earnings than Asbury women. Among those for whom wage information was available, more than two-thirds of the Asbury women had earned no more than $1.70 per hour in the last job, whereas about 40 percent of Paterson WIN participants and almost one-half of the control group had done better than that. Perhaps because of this discrepancy, most Paterson women who had worked considered their last job a good job, whereas most Asbury women rated it fair or poor.

Asbury WIN participants were most likely to have found the last job through advertisements, whereas in the other three groups, the largest proportion used the method which usually rates most popular in studies of job market behavior-- word-of-mouth information from friends and relatives. By the end of the study period, both groups said they intended to rely more heavily on the Employment Service in seeking future jobs, but the change was significant only for the WIN mothers (see Chapter 8).

Job Hopes. Asked about the type of job they would like to get next, WIN participants indicated their desire for change in the first interview while control respondents tended to cite the same occupation as the last job (see Table 25). Both groups maintained this difference throughout the study period. Asbury WIN participants ranked clerical jobs as their first preference with service occupations second, and operative jobs third. All other groups placed operative jobs first and service occupations second.

Paterson women had expectations of higher pay rates. More than half of the Paterson women who answered the question: "What pay would you consider?" cited hourly rates of $1.91 or better, whereas more than half of the Asbury women in both interview groups said that they would take less. All groups shifted their pay expectations upward during the study period (see Chapter 8).

WIN participants at both locations were less likely to say that they would accept the same or lower pay than in their last job. The majority in each group at both locations felt that jobs of the type they wanted were currently available-- an opinion which did not change during the study period.

In discussing other characteristics of the jobs they wanted, most women in all groups rated job security above high pay, and Paterson women also rated steadiness of employment above interesting work, while Asbury women were about evenly divided on this factor. Most women in the two trainee groups as well as most women in the Asbury control group said that they would prefer a job with some variety of activity to one which was the same every day; the Paterson control group was about evenly divided on this issue.

Previous Training. Some women in each group (27.9 percent in the largest case, the Asbury WIN group, 13.3 percent among Paterson WIN participants) had been enrolled in previous training programs, most commonly a program run by the welfare board or the local community action agency, which had lasted six months or less and ended shortly before their WIN enrollment. These programs had usually paid a training allowance, but apparently did not commonly provide child care. Among the women who had received such prior training, most had been coached in clerical and sub-professional skills. Five to 10 percent in each group had obtained jobs (since lost) as a result.

Income

At both sites, the initial distribution of income was similar for the two WIN groups and higher than the control groups' distribution (see Table 26). In both Asbury and Paterson, 60 percent of the WIN groups had a total monthly income of $350 or less, while at both sites 60 percent of the control group had incomes below $300. Income did not change significantly for either WIN or control mothers during the study period (see Chapter 8).

The higher position of the WIN participants reflected the WIN incentive payments and training allowances which almost all were receiving at the time of the first interview. Only three out of 10 WIN participants at each site (new enrollees who had not yet been assigned to a component) said that last month's income came entirely from welfare; whereas, approximately seven out of 10 of the control group members at each site had been totally supported by welfare during the past month. However, eight out of 10 of all groups said that more than half of last month's income had come from welfare. This also did not change during the study period.

In Asbury, welfare grants for almost 60 percent of the WIN sample ranged from $201 to $300 per month. Among control group members at that site, more than half had grants between $201 and $350-- the same proportion and range shown by the Paterson WIN group. Paterson control groups members, however, tended to receive smaller grants: about 60 percent had grants ranging between $151 and $300 per month. Income from welfare did not change significantly for either WIN or control mothers during the study period (see Chapter 8).

A few persons, but not more than 15 percent in any interview group, had received some income from their own earnings in the month preceding the first interview, but for not more than five percent of any sample had it amounted to more than half of their total income for that month. Income from earnings rose significantly for WIN mothers during the study (see Chapter 8).

About 20 percent of the control group members and more than half of the WIN participants at each site also received some income from other sources--training allowances, support payments for children, gifts, and earnings of other family members during the past month, amounts which in most cases totalled less than $100. Not more than seven individuals in any group, however, received as much as half of the past month's income from such sources at the first interview; by the second interview, the maximum figure had dropped to four.

Expenses

For most respondents, food constituted their biggest single expense and unlike more affluent groups, the welfare mothers in general, knew to the penny how much they had spent on food during the past week. Excluding the few who could offer no information, the median expenditure for both Paterson groups and the Asbury control group was $26 to $30 for the week preceding the first interview (see Table 27). The Asbury WIN group managed on a bit less, with a median of $21 to $25. However, at least 30 percent of each group had a food bill of $35 or more and in the Paterson control group this proportion rose to 40 percent.

In general, differences in food expenditures within groups reflected differences in the number and age of children. However, some of the difference between groups has to be credited to differences in the utilization of food stamps. More than half of the Asbury WIN participants had used food stamps in the week preceding the first interview, a proportion twice as large as that in any other group. And in Paterson, differences in the age of children, the number of children, and the presence of teenagers could not account for differences in food expenditures between WIN and control groups. The significant factor for the Paterson control group appeared to be the very low proportion (14.3 percent) who utilized food stamps. This under-utilization of stamps by control mothers persisted throughout the study period.

In addition to food and rent, which were their two biggest expenditures, about two-thirds of the Asbury women and about one-half of the Paterson women also had to pay separately for gas and electricity. Among those who knew the amount of the last monthly bill at the first interview, the median cost was $10 to $15 per month for both Asbury groups and the Paterson control group; the Paterson WIN group had a median of $5 to $10 per month. Heating costs were an additional expense for more than one-third of all groups.

Among those who had to make separate payments for utilities, the median cost of all utilities for both control groups was $21 to $30 in the month preceding the interview. Asbury WIN participants had the heaviest utility bills-- a median of $31 to $40 in the last month, and Paterson WIN participants the lightest-- a median of $11 to $20. Since few moved during the study, these costs did not change.

Clothing Expenditures. More than 80 percent in all groups said that they had purchased some clothing for the children in the three months which preceded the first interview, a period which included August, September, and October, months when parents of school children must replenish their wardrobes (see Table 28). In Paterson, the median expenditure for both groups was $81 to $90; in Asbury, it was considerably less: $61 - $70 for the WIN participants and $51 - $60 for the control group.

During the same period, more than half the Paterson women and about two-thirds of the Asbury WIN participants had bought some clothing for themselves. In the Asbury control group, however, seven out of ten said that they had bought nothing. Among those who did make clothing purchases, most in the two control groups and the Asbury WIN group had spent $30 or less. In the Paterson WIN group, however, the majority had spent more than $40.

In the three months preceding the second interview, both WIN and control mothers sharply decreased clothing expenditures, probably reflecting seasonal variation. However, a significantly larger proportion of WIN mothers made purchases (see Chapter 8).

Other Expenditures

More than two-thirds of the women in all groups said they had been unable to buy any household goods-- furniture or linens within the three months preceding the first interview. Among the few who did almost all spent less than $40.

More than seven out of 10 in all groups said they had spent no money at all during the last month on minor luxuries-- movies, restaurant meals, or excursions. Among the few who had, WIN participants tended to spend a little more on this type of recreation than control members; a maximum of $7 in Asbury as opposed to $5 or less for the control group, and in Paterson, a maximum of $11 as opposed to $5 or less for the control group. Neither household nor recreation expenditures changed significantly during the study (see Chapter 8).

Aspirations and Estimate of Progress

As the preceding sections suggest, despite New Jersey's relative generosity in the level of welfare grants, all respondents were experiencing a very low level of living at the time of both interviews. Additional testimony on this point came when they were asked: "What do you consider your family's biggest need right now?" In other words, if you could get your hands on $100 right now, what need would you take care of first?

The initial interviews were conducted early in winter, and in all samples, the largest group named clothing-- particularly warm clothing for the children-- as their most pressing need (see Table 29). One Paterson WIN participant raising four boys, aged 12 to 18, summarized the answers of many:

> I'd buy shoes, boots, pants and underwear for the boys. Anything left would go for bus fare and milk money.

Among the WIN groups, household equipment ranked second; while with both control groups, food was the second most frequently mentioned need. As one Asbury mother of five put it:

> First, I'd get enough food, for once--
> especially fruit and meat. . .

Neither group changed its priorities significantly during the study period (see Chapter 8).

Respondents were asked to judge their present situation against their immediate past and future in two ways. First, they were asked: "Speaking of income alone, would you say that you were better off last month than you were a year ago at this time?"

Among WIN participants at both sites at the first interview, the largest proportion felt that they were better off at present (44.3 percent in Asbury, 58.3 percent in Paterson). Control groups at both sites had a more pessimistic estimate of their present income status; in Asbury, 40 percent said they were worse off, and in Paterson, 38 percent said their position was the same as a year ago. Neither WIN or control mothers changed this estimate significantly during the study.

Looking into the future, the largest percentage in all groups said initially that they expected to be better off financially a year hence. At the second interview, WIN mothers registered a curious and statistically significant change. A larger proportion said they expected their income would remain unchanged during the next year-- a change which perhaps reflected their growing realization of the length of the training process (see Chapter 8).

The second estimate of present position provided by the interviews took account of factors other than income and employed a more complicated technique-- the Self-Anchoring Striving Scale developed by Hadley Cantril for cross-cultural identification of human concerns and measurement of progress toward aspirations.[35]

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[35] See Cantril's The Pattern of Human Concerns, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 1965.

Respondents were asked to describe what they would consider the worst possible life and then to visualize and describe the best possible life. After this, they were shown a ladder with steps numbered from zero to ten-- zero representing their personal version of the very worst that could befall them, and ten, their view of the good life. They were asked where they stood at present between these extremes, and where they ranked two years ago. The average ladder ratings which resulted from the first interview were the following:

	Asbury Park		Paterson	
	WIN	Control	WIN	Control
Life now:	4.47	4.32	4.13	4.35
Life two years ago:	3.27	4.57	3.20	4.21

As the figures indicate, all groups took about the same view of their present life. WIN groups, however, tended to feel that the present represented substantial improvement over the past; while among the controls, life looked much the same as it had two years ago.

Among respondents who felt better off at present, the reasons most frequently given by WIN participants were economic progress and personal achievement. As one woman explained it:

> I have more money and more knowledge now. . .
> I'm advancing.

Control group respondents at Asbury gave the same reasons in the same sequence. At Paterson, control group members who felt better off were more likely to point to the resolution of family problems first, and economic progress second. One mother of four who had been married to an alcoholic said:

> Two years ago I was full of fear and bewilderment.
> Now our lives are quiet-- no more beatings-- and I
> know how much money we'll have each week.

WIN participants who felt worse off at present cited economic setbacks and family problems as the cause. Again, Asbury control respondents mentioned the same reasons in the same sequence, while Paterson control respondents pointed to family problems first and economic setbacks second.

In describing the ingredients of the best possible life, both WIN groups appeared more economically-oriented than the control groups but the difference was particularly perceptible in Paterson (see Table 30). Two-thirds or more of each group mentioned some personal economic concerns but in Paterson, 80 percent of the WIN participants brought up economic matters compared with 64 percent of the controls, whereas, in Asbury the difference between WIN participants and control group members was relatively small. Aspirations regarding jobs or work also were part of the "the best possible life" for more than half of the Paterson WIN respondents but for less than one-quarter of any other group. For all groups, however, personal economic concerns ranked first, family concerns second. Only one person among the two hundred interviewed mentioned social concerns-- in this case, international peace.

Among the personal economic hopes figuring in respondents' visions of the good life, improved housing was the topic mentioned most frequently-- either owning a home or living in a better house or apartment. A generally improved standard of living (more money, no debts) was the second most frequent topic for both WIN groups while both control groups placed higher emphasis on car ownership.

Aspirations regarding steady work or congenial work were voiced more frequently by the WIN participants at both sites than by the control groups, but in Paterson the emphasis was put on congenial work.

In expressing non-economic hopes for themselves, WIN groups were strikingly likely to mention furthering their own education. The Paterson control group hoped merely for good health and the Asbury control group had diversified aspirations (to have friends, be free of problems, etc.).

In the primacy given to economic and family hopes in their visions of the best possible life, sample members followed the national American pattern of concerns reported by Cantril, but in somewhat exaggerated fashion. The proportions mentioning personal economic hopes were, for most interview groups, higher than those found in Cantril's study for all female Americans and for lower-income Americans, and come closest to being matched by his young and nonwhite respondents (see Table 31). The proportions citing family hopes were also higher in general than those found in Cantril's cross-section of women and far exceeded those of lower-income groups and nonwhite respondents, most closely approximating those found by him in the younger age groups. In job and work concerns, the WIN interview samples for this study exceeded any comparable group analyzed by Cantril and came closest to matching the young. Among personal concerns, the samples' emphasis on housing coincided with the major personal economic hope reported by Cantril's Negro respondents.

The fact that respondents for this study were already in a job training program or knew that they would shortly be entering one probably accounts for the extreme emphasis given to personal economic concerns and job and work concerns. Their age concentration (in the 20's and 30's) and the fact that almost all were female heads of families probably account for the strong family emphasis. The absence of social and political concerns was not characteristic of any American group in Cantril's study but appeared in the lower socio-economic groups in several of the under-developed countries he surveyed. This was interpreted by him to mean that concern for others is a luxury which only the affluent can afford, an interpretation which seems equally applicable here.

The fears of the interview groups were examined by asking them to envision the worst possible life. It is apparent from their answers that their hopes for economic improvement and family betterment were strongly diluted by fears of reverses or no change in these areas (see Table 32). In all groups except the Paterson control group, more than half the respondents expressed at least one fear regarding their personal economic future, and among the WIN groups large proportions expressed this worry as a fear of the "status quo"-- a worry that their future would be the same as their present. Among the Paterson WIN group, this fear was particularly strong, being expressed by more than one-third of its members. In both control groups, although a sizeable segment was afraid of lack of change, the major concern was a fear of slipping backward. In Asbury, WIN respondents worried most about having no place to live.

Fears of possible future ailments were a major cause of concern for both Asbury groups and the Paterson control group while the Paterson WIN group had more diversified worries in regard to themselves. In expressing fears for their family's future, health concerns (often the fear that their children would become drug addicts) was again the major worry with the Asbury groups, while Paterson WIN respondents were more vaguely worried about their possible future inability to take care of their family, and Paterson control respondents feared family strife or unhappiness in the future. Worries concerned with employment or jobs were more common again in the WIN groups than in the control groups and particularly among Paterson WIN participants.

In the fears they expressed, three of the samples again followed the general pattern for all Americans discerned by Cantril by placing personal economic worries first, other self-related fears second, and family worries third (see again Table 31). Only the Paterson control group deviated by ranking family worries second. However, again the study sample responded in exaggerated fashion. In all groups, the percentage expressing family fears was far higher than that found in Cantril's comparable groups, and in the Paterson control group, hopes and fears for the family were equal in weight. Moreover, the fear that the future may hold no change-- a worry particularly widespread among Paterson WIN participants-- was apparently absent among Cantril's American respondents.

Freely interpreting this data, one might say that the hopes engendered by the WIN program were desperate hopes. For a large proportion of the women, a continuation of their present life appeared intolerable. And yet, the path to possible gain was haunted by doubt of their own physical and economic abilities, and by fear of family disaster.

One young black woman in Paterson, mother of two preschool children, painted a picture much like that outlined above. The best possible life, she said, would be:

> To finish school and maybe college. . . get a good job and be able to take care of my children. . . make them feel they're not ashamed. . . make them feel they belong.

And the worst life:

> If I finished and then didn't get a job that paid and that I liked. . . to be still on welfare after all that.

As noted earlier, WIN mothers had been in the program from one to five months at the time of the first interview. Therefore, as the interpretation above implies, this interview undoubtedly registered some effects of the program upon their expectations. Their differentially intense concentration upon employment as the route to a better life could reasonably be construed as evidence of WIN's effect on motivation to work. If this could be verified through specific study using additional tests and other sites, it would rank as an important achievement for the program. Further study appears warranted.

The six-month period used in this study proved too short to register the ultimate impact of the program since most participants were still in training at the second interview. Hence, the meaning of the results of the Cantril measurements in the latter interview was considered questionable and they are not reported here.

E. Advantages and Disadvantages of Working

Midway in the first interview, interviewers said: "Working-- instead of being on welfare-- has some advantages and some disadvantages. What would you say are the main advantages of working? What are the disadvantages?"

Speaking of the advantages of working, all groups cited independence and a better income as the chief benefits and large numbers in each group added that a weekly or a semi-monthly paycheck makes for easier budgeting than a monthly welfare grant (see Table 33). One Paterson woman summed up the reasons given by many:

> When you're getting a paycheck every week you don't have to budget so closely so the money will last to the end of the month. And you can earn more than you can get from welfare. But the best thing is that you don't have to depend on anyone else.

The psychological value of independence was mentioned by several. An Asbury WIN participant said:

> When you have a job, you know you're not living off someone else's hard work. Do it yourself and you'll feel good.

Another mother of two teen-agers said:

> You have the pride and respect of your children.

However, the idea of working appeared to be more enthusiastically welcomed by the Paterson women than by the Asbury respondents. Asked about the disadvantages of working, more than 40 percent of the women in the two Paterson groups replied that there were none, and another 20 percent cited child-care problems. In Asbury, WIN participants named child-care problems as the largest single disadvantage, with "no disadvantage" ranking second, and separation from children third. Control group members at this site placed separation from children first, "no disadvantage" second. One Asbury mother expressed the qualms of many:

> Being away from the children will be hard. Supposin' they got sick. . .? Trying to be a bread-winner and a fulltime mother is very difficult.

A Paterson control group member expressed a very realistic view of some of the hazards of working:

> It would be terrible to get a job without good benefits, and then have nothing to fall back on. And it will be hard to get used to paying medical bills.

Summary

This chapter discussed detailed personal, social and economic characteristics of the WIN and control mothers at each site. It ended with a comparison of their views on their economic progress, their future, and the advantages and drawbacks of working.

Control groups had a shorter welfare history than WIN groups, probably reflecting the rate of entry into WIN and the duration of training. In Asbury, the control group also contained a higher proportion of white women-- a factor which would tend to give the WIN group an employment advantage, according to state figures. On the other hand, control group members at that site were more likely to have automobiles, to some extent an offsetting advantage.

WIN and control mothers had similar work histories. WIN participants, however, had a higher level of income due to the program's incentive payments and training allowances.

WIN groups tended to feel they were making progress toward personal goals; control groups in general felt they were marking time and in danger of slipping backward. With WIN participants, work-related topics rated unusually high among both hopes and fears for the future, suggesting that the program may be having an important effect upon motivation to work. The latter point warrants further investigation.

All groups considered independence and better income the chief benefits of working. Both Paterson groups, however, were more likely than the Asbury women to see no disadvantages to employment.

CHAPTER 8

INTERVIEW DATA: TESTING HYPOTHESES

Initially the interviews with WIN and control mothers were meant to test hypotheses related to employment and earnings, as well as attitudinal and behavioral differences linked with the WIN Program, as explained in Chapter 4.

It was reasoned that, at each site, during the six-month research period, the two groups of women-- both welfare mothers, both living in the same cities, both screened as eligible for WIN-- would face the same changing market conditions and other unpredictable forces which might strongly affect their ability or desire to get jobs. One group, the WIN enrollees, would complete a program of services and training specifically designed to move them into good jobs; the other would not.

Hence, it was hypothesized, by the end of the study period, WIN mothers should show higher employment and pay rates than control mothers. And whether actually employed or not, WIN mothers should show differences in attitude and behavior which might reasonably be associated with WIN's purpose-- improving participants' economic and social functioning.

Contrary to expectations, however, the training process proved to take much longer than six months. Although the WIN mothers had been enrolled in the program from one to five months at the first interview, the majority at both sites were still in training at the end of the study period-- an experience which the analysis of files demonstrated was typical, rather than unusual. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to consider that the employment and pay figures resulting from the interviews were indicative of WIN's impact. The intention of testing hypotheses concerning these factors had to be abandoned, although the data resulting are reported in this chapter for the light cast upon the opportunity costs of training-- the earnings foregone by trainees.

The hypotheses concerning behavioral and attitudinal differences between trainees and controls did receive some support from the interviews and these findings are also reported in this chapter.

A. Employment Outcome

Not more than 17 percent of the WIN respondents at either site were employed at the time of the second interview. About 30 percent in Paterson and 15 percent in Asbury had been terminated; the rest-- more than half of the respondents at each site-- were still in training.

During the six-month period under study, the WIN projects had to battle the current of the nation's economy. By the spring of 1970, both labor markets under study were feeling the crunch of rising unemployment rates. However, cyclical and seasonal fluctations were one of the factors the control groups were designed to offset. Therefore, the deepening recession can be assumed to have affected WIN and control respondents equally.

In their job market success, WIN mothers did not differ significantly from control mothers during the six-month period. Among the 118 WIN participants located for second interviews, 19 (16.1 percent) were employed. Among the 76 controls, 8 (10.5 percent) were working. A test of the difference between these proportions yielded the following 95 percent confidence interval: $-.036 < p_1 - p_2 < .136$. Therefore, the hypothesis $p_1 = p_2$ was accepted at the 5 percent level of significance, indicating no significant difference.

In view of the usual length of the training process, this result cannot be considered the measure of WIN's ultimate employment impact. It does, however, have some interesting implications in regard to the opportunity costs of training.

First, despite the length of training, WIN apparently does not keep out of the labor market for a prolonged period welfare mothers who would otherwise be working. The proportion employed at the end of six months was approximately the same, whether or not they had enrolled in WIN.

Conversely, without special assistance, a larger number of welfare mothers seek and find jobs than one might expect and at pay levels not much different from those of the trained mothers. Data on the two sites may be of interest in this respect (see Table 34).

At first glance, the finding of no difference between the job market success of WIN and control groups appeared limited to Asbury Park where 16.7 percent of the WIN participants and 13.5 percent of the control group were employed at the end of the six-month period. In Paterson, the WIN participants' record, while no better-- and, in fact, slightly worse-- than that of the Asbury people, was at least twice as high as the proportion of control group members who found jobs. Looking behind the overall figures, however, it was apparent that the Asbury WIN people did make one real gain over their control group, whereas the Paterson WIN group did not. In Asbury, most of the WIN participants who found jobs were working full time, most of the controls part time, while in Paterson the reverse was true.

In discussing characteristics of jobs held by respondents at the time of the second interview, it must be recognized that the numbers of persons involved are very small. Among WIN participants, for example, only 10 were employed in Asbury and only nine in Paterson. And for the control group, the figures were five and three at the respective sites. Figures this small cannot bear much weight in regard to conclusions, and are presented simply as a matter of interest.

In Asbury, most of the WIN participants who were employed entered the clerical occupations, while two of the five control group members who found jobs at that site were working in private households. In Paterson, the distribution of employment was about the same for WIN and control groups, almost all finding service or operative jobs. About half of those employed among the Asbury WIN group were working in government offices-- a rare occurrence among other groups.

In pay, Asbury control group members did slightly better than the WIN group, while in Paterson the two groups were fairly evenly matched. Control group members at both sites had been employed longer at the time of the second interview, most having held their present job at least four months, whereas more than half the WIN participants at both sites had been employed three months or less. Half of the WIN participants in Asbury had obtained their present job through the program or the Employment Service, whereas in Paterson the WIN program was matched by word-of-mouth help from friends and relatives as the most frequent source of the job.

In each interview group, a number of other women (seven persons in Asbury, 10 in Paterson) had held jobs at some time during the study period but were not employed at the time of the second interview, boosting the proportion of women who had worked at some time during the six-month period to 20 percent or more for each group except the Paterson controls. A few women in each group except the latter had also held more than one job.

In Asbury, most women said they had left these past jobs voluntarily because of the nature of the work or because they had received better offers, whereas in Paterson, most severance was involuntary-- due to illness or layoff. The majority did not immediately look for other employment.

B. Changes in Attitudinal and Behavioral Factors

Although employment hypotheses could not be adequately tested within the time span of the study, other statistically significant changes did occur among both WIN participants and control group members, and by the end of the period, WIN trainees were markedly different from those who were still awaiting their turn in the program.

Although program emphasis differed at the two sites, it was clear that most participants at both sites spent most of their time in the same type of component (formal education) and received the same monetary increment-- a total of $80 per month. For the control groups at the two sites, the conditions of life were also fairly similar, since AFDC grants were based on a state-wide formula which considered the size of the family, the age of its members, and then added the actual rent paid.

Therefore, in order to eliminate differences due to different locations, for this analysis all WIN respondents were treated as a single group, all control respondents as a second group. Then, data obtained from each group in the first interview was compared with their responses in the second in order to estimate change. Finally, all WIN respondents were compared with all control respondents at the end of the period. Chi-square tests were used to identify statistically significant differences. The results are summarized in Table 35 and discussed below.

Job Aspirations. The occupational goals of the WIN participants did not change markedly during the study period, nor did those of the control group (see Table 36). However, the array of ambitions found in the two groups were evidently considerably different from the start--probably because the WIN participants had already selected their goals at the time of the first interview. WIN participants strongly favored clerical work, control group members, factory work. Pay aspirations for the two groups did change radically during the study period-- both shifting upward. Neither group showed any significant change in its opinion of the availability of the jobs it sought. WIN participants began and ended the period with more skepticism on this score than the control group members. In seeking future jobs, both groups planned to rely more heavily on the Employment Service and for the WIN group this shift was a significant change in their estimate of sources of job information.

Households. No significant changes occurred in either group in family composition or age of children-- that is, there is no marked evidence of children rejoining WIN families or leaving control group families nor of birth in either group. The incidence of school problems occurring in each group remained relatively unchanged during the period. However, one interesting change did occur: the proportion of "poor" students reported by control group families rose by an amount which was significant at the 90 percent level of probability. The classification "poor" was based upon the parent's estimate, so it may represent increasing concern rather than actual report card changes (see Table 37).

Housing Changes. In both groups, the proportion who had moved in the last six months decreased significantly in the second interview, a finding which strongly suggests a seasonal factor-- perhaps a reluctance to relocate during the school year. Rents, the size and the condition of the housing unit did not change radically for either group during the study period nor were there any significant differences between them by the Spring of 1970 in this respect (see Table 38).

Household Goods. A hint of the WIN group's relative affluence is reflected in the roster of household equipment reported at the beginning and end of the period. For the WIN participants, telephones were the most significant addition and by the end of the period they differed sharply from the control group in the possession of this convenience. Ownership of radios and record players also increased among the WIN participants by proportions significant at the 90 percent level of probability. The proportion having refrigerators also increased significantly in both groups. However, some of this increase may have occurred through moving from a house to an apartment rather than through purchase. Clothes dryers were the only other household good which distinguished the WIN people. However, these were not new acquisitions; the WIN participants had reported more than control group members at the initial interview (see Table 39).

Expenditures. For both groups, not much change occurred during the period in most expenditures-- utility costs, medical care, clothing, household goods, and recreation. The one exception was the cost of children's clothing which decreased sharply for both during the three-month period preceding the second interview-- again, probably a seasonal reaction since the first interview in the fall took account of the late summer spending for school wardrobes. However, although their spending habits did not change during the period, the WIN people throughout the period bought at a significantly greater rate than the control respondents--spending on utility costs, children's clothing, and on clothing for themselves-- again a reflection of their relative affluence. They were also much more likely to use food stamps, achieving an additional expansion of their purchasing power (see Table 40).

Income. Both groups experienced a slight upward shift in income during the period but in neither case was it statistically significant-- probably because the WIN group was already receiving allowances at the time of the first interview. However, there was a significant difference between the income levels of the WIN group and those of the controls due, for the most part, to the training allowance. Welfare grants remained relatively unchanged within each group throughout the period. However, there was a significant difference between the groups since almost all control group members derived their total income from welfare while relatively few WIN members did so-- most of them terminations. On the other hand, the contribution of earnings toward total income rose during the six-month period for the WIN people, producing a change which was significant at the 90 percent level of probability, while remaining relatively unchanged for the control group. However, a larger percentage of the control group was deriving some income from earnings at the beginning of the period, so that the increase by the WIN group simply brought them to the level of the controls, and at the end of the period there was little difference between the two groups in the share of income derived from earnings (see Table 41).

Economic Expectations and Needs. Between interviews, neither group changed its estimate of its economic progress during the last year-- most WIN participants began and ended the period thinking themselves better off in money matters, most control respondents began and ended the period thinking themselves little changed or worse off than last year. In their expectations of economic progress during the next year, however, the WIN groups underwent a curious change. During the study period, an increasing proportion began to believe that they would be neither better nor worse off the following year-- merely the same-- producing a change in attitude which was significant at the 90 percent level of probability. At the end of the study period, the difference between WIN and control expectations was also significant at the 90 percent level of probability. In estimating its most pressing immediate need, neither group changed its priorities much during the study. In identifying their most pressing need, however, the WIN respondents emphasized household goods and furniture while the control groups emphasized food bills and miscellaneous other needs, causing a difference significant at the 95 percent level of probability. For both groups, however, clothing held the first priority (see Table 42).

Social Activities. Between interviews, both the WIN and control respondents decreased their membership in clubs and organizations, but for the WIN group the drop was slight, while for the control group there was a significant cutback in outside activities. By the end of the period, about 70 percent of the control group belonged to no outside club or organization compared to less than half of the WIN group, a difference which was significant at the 95 percent level of probability (see Table 43).

Summary

Between interviews, several statistically significant changes occurred in the WIN group which can be logically associated with the program. Although both groups came to rate the Employment Service more highly, the shift was significant only for the WIN people. As WIN mothers became accustomed to the small regular increase in income attributable mainly to training allowances, they acquired a few relatively low-cost amenities--radios, record players-- and, in very pronounced fashion, increased their membership in the population of telephone suscribers. Although more than 80 percent still received the bulk of their income from welfare at the end of the period, the proportion of total income contributed by earnings rose significantly. A significant change also occurred in their expectations. While as a group, they remained more optimistic than the controls about their economic future, an increasing proportion began to realize that change would not come rapidly: next year's income was likely to be about the same as this year's.

Other changes which may logically be associated with the WIN program apparently took place before the initial interview--that is, immediately upon admission to the program. WIN participants were sharply different from control group members in their occupational expectations. A far larger proportion wanted to enter the white-collar world while control group respondents hoped instead for factory employment. The impact of the training allowance evidently also preceded the first interview. It was put to work throughout the period to yield the WIN recipients a sharply higher level of living than the control group experienced. Throughout the six-month period WIN people consistently enjoyed a higher income, spent more for utilities, bought more clothing for their children and themselves, and began to yearn more for the deferable purchases-- household equipment and furniture. In addition, they bolstered their increased purchasing power still further by using food stamps to a much greater extent than the control group, a development which might be the result of either increased information or a less stringent budget.

Meanwhile, control group members exhibited only two statistically significant changes which might be linked with the absence of the program-- or, possibly, with the absence of the extra margin of budgetary ease provided by the training allowances. In the second interview, a significantly larger proportion of control group respondents reported that one or more children were doing very badly in school while for WIN participants there was no change in this factor. Since the WIN program, particularly in Paterson, included a great deal of counseling on personal and domestic problems, and at both sites emphasized formal education, it is possible that it paid some side benefits in at least stabilizing the class performance of participants' children.[36] The other significant change registered by the control group was a sharp cutback in social activities, as measured by membership in clubs and organizations. Since the study period included the winter and spring months, and since few respondents among either group owned cars, it is possible that the reduction in the outside activity of the control group simply represents lack of carfare for travel in bad weather. However, WIN respondents through their participation in the program were compelled to meet and interact daily with persons outside their households. Hence, it is possible that the program itself encouraged the maintenance of other social contacts. Although WIN involvement in other organizations also decreased slightly during the study period, at the time of the second interview, more than half of the WIN group held membership in at least one organization-- usually a church or a PTA, while about 70 percent of the control respondents reported none.

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[36] WIN participants were also eligible for counseling from the Bureau of Children's Services in regard to their youngsters' school problems.

A few other significant changes occurred in both WIN and control groups and are probably attributable to environmental influences which affected both groups equally. Both WIN and control members made a significant upward shift in the level of pay they wanted in their next job-- probably a consequence of the general rise in wages and price levels during the period. Both groups were much less mobile during the study period: much smaller proportions changed their address than had done so in the six months preceding the first interview. Both groups also spent less for children's clothing. Both of these occurrences are probably traceable to seasonal influences-- specifically, the start of the school year shortly before the first interview. The only other significant change affecting both groups, an increase in the acquisition of refrigerators, can probably be discounted as resulting from moves from a house to an apartment or, perhaps, simply from differences in interpretation of the interview question.

A number of differences identified in the WIN group-- the widespread clothing expenditures, increased telephone subscription, higher order of material aspirations, and greater social activity-- can be reasonably viewed as investments in employability, contributing either to the immediate likelihood of finding a job or to eventual firmer attachment to the labor market and tend to confirm the hypotheses on behavioral and attitudinal changes.

CHAPTER 9

INTERVIEW DATA: REACTIONS TO THE PROGRAM

By the second interview, WIN mothers' experience with the program had been lengthy enough for them to offer several reflections and comments upon it. At least seven out of 10 at both sites had received four or more services by that time, with the widest exposure being to counseling and formal education. Asked to name the service they considered the most valuable, more than two-thirds of the respondents at each site answered the question and at both locations, the largest number ranked the formal education components first. (See Table 44).

In Asbury, most of those who praised a service emphasized its relevance to employment:

> "I want to become a nurse. To do this, I must have a high school diploma... I would never have been able to get it without these classes. They were the first step."

In Paterson, the largest number who praised a component cited its contribution towards their personal development:

> "I can't go now to public school. I'd feel funny... being a mother. This is a good opportunity to learn. This place you can go and not feel out of place or too old."

> "The counselor helped me get over my discouragement, kept me from quitting, and helped me overcome in school."

Only about one in five respondents at either site singled out a component as "least valuable", but among the few who did, five persons in Asbury mentioned the GED classes and three the job referral system, while in Paterson, four mentioned counseling and the rest split their votes fairly evenly among the other components. In criticizing a component, the most common explanation given was that the quality of service was poor. School was called boring, job referrals inappropriate, and counseling, particularly group counseling, was termed impersonal by the few critics. Respondents also discussed each component individually. Their comments are summarized in Table 45 and presented in detail below.

Counseling. Paterson respondents appeared to receive a great deal more counseling than those in Asbury and to have more favorable reactions toward it. All Paterson respondents were aware that they had met with the counselor at least once, and almost 80 percent of them had three or more counseling sessions. Seven out of 10 said that the counselor helped them chose the type of job to aim for and in most cases this appeared to be a job which suited their own desires. About one-third of the Paterson respondents volunteered favorable comments when speaking of the counselors' assistance, most frequently emphasizing the personal or job-related advice received:

> "She built my confidence up and made me feel that I had something to give when I go for a job."
>
> "They helped me see things I hadn't seen before about my own problems; they encouraged me."
>
> "I was afraid of school at first. They encouraged me to stick it out. I was having trouble with arithmetic."

About nine out of 10 Paterson respondents also said that counseling helped in their choice of training, most of them claiming that it helped a great deal. Unfavorable comments in Paterson were relatively few in number; they came from nine persons (15 percent of the sample), who most frequently charged that counseling offered no real help.

In Asbury, most respondents claimed they had two or less counseling sessions and only about one-quarter of the sample felt that counseling had helped either in choice of job goals or in choosing training. About half the Asbury respondents either stated that they had never met their counselor or offered unfavorable comments on counseling.[37] Almost all recommendations for change in counseling were offered by the Asbury people:

> "They do not tell you about the job openings for the training chosen. They should have more counseling for special types of problems."
>
> "They should have more counseling about job orientation and jobs available. They don't encourage you to go to certain kinds of training."
>
> "We should have individual counseling, instead of having five or six people in a room being talked to in a group."

Formal Education Components. Eight out of 10 Paterson respondents and seven out of 10 in Asbury had been enrolled in one of the formal education components, adult basic education or high school preparatory classes, at some point during their stay in the program. Again, Paterson respondents seemed to value this training more highly than those in Asbury. At both sites most of those who received this training felt that it would help them get jobs, but Paterson people were far more likely to rate it a great help (46.6 percent as compared to 28.8 percent in Asbury), while most Asbury recipients said it was little or no help. Favorable comments included the following:

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[37] All except those who repeatedly failed to report when called did, in fact, meet a counselor at least once. Many, however, were not aware that the meeting constituted counseling.

> "What you learn will always help you even if the application is not immediate." (Asbury)

> "I was way down in reading. Basic education taught me to read. It was the only place I really learned anything." (Paterson)

> "I learned a lot [in GED classes]. It gives you more understanding and widens your ideas on life." (Asbury)

The critics said:

> "They don't teach you anything. You have to try to work by yourself." (Asbury)

> "It [GED classes] didn't help in the job I got." (Paterson)

> "I already have a high school degree. They sent me here because they didn't know where to send me." (Asbury)

> "People in this program need job training, an immediate goal [instead of ABE]. Some of the classes are a waste of time. Women with many problems should not be in this program." (Asbury)

Work Experience. Work experience was used extensively by the Asbury program and very little by the Paterson program. As a result, one-third of the Asbury participants and only five percent of the Paterson enrollees had received this component. Most of those who entered work experience in Asbury were stationed in the Welfare or WIN offices. Those who received it in Asbury seemed to esteem it very highly. Two out of three believed it would be a great help in getting a job.

Vocational Training. Institutional vocational training was used more extensively in Paterson where approximately one-quarter of the interviewees had received it, most of them in private commercial and business schools. Among those who had received it at this location, the reaction was strongly approving: almost all felt that it had helped greatly in preparing them for the job market. In Asbury, only 13 percent had received this component, and only five percent felt that it was extremely helpful.

Job Referrals. Asbury respondents were much more likely to have received one or more job referrals than were Paterson interviewees, and about half of those who did receive referrals in Asbury were also placed, whereas in Paterson, less than one-third of those who were sent out to apply for a job actually obtained it. At Asbury, most of those who did receive placement were still employed at the time of interview and rated their job as good, although about half felt they could have obtained the same job without the assistance of the WIN program. In Paterson, only three members of the interview sample were placed through the WIN program during the study period.

At both sites, a large proportion of those who said they were told of job openings claimed that the positions were not the type of work they were trained for.

Asbury people who were clearly benefiting more from Employment Service referrals, also offered the most suggestions for improving the referral system. Among their comments were the following:

> "They should go and see the place before they send the people out... they have no system."

> "Job referrals are impersonal... not adjusted to the training."

> "There aren't enough decent jobs offered after you finish school. I was hired for the minimum wage. Then when they cut my allowance I hadn't enough money to support the family. I was never so glad as when I was laid off."

> "We need more job opportunities. People have to stay too long in training or in work experience. I spent too long waiting for a job. In training you get paid $2.50 a day and you work eight hours."

> "The WIN program was no help at all... I had to find my own job." (Paterson)

Effects on Self and Family. Whatever its economic outcome, the program apparently was providing a psychological boost to most participants. (See Table 46). At least 60 percent at each site said they had noticed some positive change in their general outlook or hopes, in most cases, classing this effect a moderate improvement:

> "I know now that I'm able to work and support myself. This has given me self-confidence."

> "I've lost interest in my old pastimes. I'm more ambitious and more aware of the city and the politics around now. I pay more attention to the news."

> "I feel different. I know more than I knew before, and I'm curious and so are my children. When I come to a word I don't know, I look it up. And the children are beginning to do the same thing."

> "My whole outlook has picked up. You feel like you're somebody instead of just nobody...down in the dumps."

Among those who found a negative effect upon themselves (seven persons in Asbury and one in Paterson), a few related it to their children:

> "I'm getting more nervous and the children are getting more rowdy. I don't know what's going on with the children like I used to."

For most, however, the children's attitude toward the program was a source of strength. More than two-thirds of the women at both sites said their families were interested in or strongly supporting their efforts:

> "If it wasn't for the encouragement of my children, I wouldn't be in the program."

> "My daughter is very interested in what I'm doing and encourages me. She says it's never too late to learn."

> "The kids thought it was good I was going back to school. They say: 'Mom is going to be a very important lady.' "

Among the minority who said their families were opposed to the program, a few clearly did not take the opposition very seriously.

> "My sons are jealous; it challenges them to do work. I ask them to work some problems. When they can't, I do it. The kids don't like that."

Problem Areas. However, despite the general approval of the program at both sites, more than half the respondents at each location said that they had encountered some problems. (See Table 47). In Asbury, transportation and child care were most frequently mentioned as the source of difficulty. Third mention at that site went to program allowances (usually deductions for absences), and the job-related aspects of program operation. At Paterson, program allowances were most frequently mentioned; program operation (this time, the training aspects) ranked second; and miscellaneous problems (hours, language problems, rudeness of others, etc.), third.

At both sites, also, more than half of the respondents made some recommendations for program change. At both locations training techniques came in for the most comment, with respondents advising better teaching, better equipment, more challenge, more relavance to work, and better adjustment to the speed of learners. One woman summarized points made by many others:

> "School should be less babyish. I was treated like a child. They should have more vocational training instead of basic education so that you learn something useful. The stuff I was taught I knew already. A lot of girls come just for the money and they are disrupting influences. They should take only those who want to do something."

Another said:

> "Some people stay too long in training or work experience. They should have more job opportunities."

At Asbury, counseling was the object of the second largest number of recommendations, while at Paterson allowances took second place.

> "We should know more about the job openings before getting into training and they should tell you about all the aspects of the job you will get."

> "Counseling should take more care of the personal wishes of enrollees."

> "Checks don't come on time. You're supposed to get them in a sequence so that you have money all month long."

> "We need more money. Eighty dollars is not enough. I couldn't afford to stay in the progam."

At both training sites, the third most frequently mentioned recommendation was an expansion of training choices:

> "They need a wider range of training. Let people be sure of what they want before putting them in training and then give them a guarantee for a job."
>
> "I thought the program would help me get started in nursing but they wanted me to go into the clerical field because I could type. They did not encourage me with a nursing job. I had to find my own job in this field and now I know that this is what I want to do permanently."
>
> "Training should be more suited to the people."
>
> "I would rather have on-the-job training instead of just going to school and not learning anything that I could get a job with."

Summary

In summary, compared with Asbury respondents, Paterson people felt they were getting more service from the program and more valuable service. However, few received referrals during the study period and very few got full-time jobs. Asbury people, on the other hand, were getting more referrals and more jobs but were relatively discontent with services. This information, coupled with the record data analyzed in an earlier section, strongly suggested that each program had adjusted to the realities of its area.

Paterson had a large diversified labor market and a relative wealth of private training resources. Its welfare population, on the other hand, represented the big city poor-- mobile, isolated persons with a miscellany of cultural handicaps. Given this situation, the WIN staff had apparently concentrated upon systematic supportive and remedial work and had left placement, for the most part, up to the market and the training schools-- an approach which apparently had been effective in the long run. As the analysis of record data showed earlier, half of all enrollees who had been in the Paterson program 13 months or longer were working by May 1970.

Asbury, on the other hand, was faced with a smaller market and more limited training opportunities. Perhaps, partly as a consequence of this, its welfare population contained many less mobile persons who were well integrated into the life of their community and, among those who entered the WIN program, a large segment were fairly job-ready to start. With this combination of plusses and minuses, the WIN staff had placed most of its emphasis on referrals, leaning heavily on the public sector for both work experience and placements. This approach yielded good short-run results: although the gross employment score of the Asbury program was not markedly better than that of its controls, trainees were much more likely to find full-time jobs. But with this mode of operation, the majority got little supportive service and the resulting level of dissatisfaction was high.

Each program would undoubtedly benefit by borrowing some techniques of the other. Even in a limited or declining labor market, repeated exposure to prospective employers obviously pays off in placements, and Paterson could probably shorten average training time by greatly increasing its volume of referrals. On the other hand, Asbury could make the program more meaningful for most enrollees by copying Paterson's method of maintaining much closer contact with them through repeated and intensive counseling while they were enrolled in various training components.

At both sites, it appeared, although most trainees felt that formal education enhanced both their personal development and their employability, many also felt it was a long, slow detour on the way to the job market. The analysis of records bore out that suspicion: the association between vocational training and employment was very strong. Both programs needed more training which was clearly job related, and a quicker way of moving people into it-- perhaps, by dividing school days between vocational training and the formal education which now takes so much time.

PART III--TABLES

TABLE 1

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Age - Years	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
19 or younger	3.5	4.3
20 - 24	11.2	21.0
25 - 29	28.0	30.9
30 - 34	23.1	30.9
35 - 39	12.6	8.6
40 - 44	14.0	1.2
45 or older	7.7	1.8
No data	-	1.2
Total	100.1	99.9

Marital Status	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
Never married	28.7	31.5
Married	30.1	4.9
Widowed	2.8	1.2
Divorced	38.5	61.1
No data	-	1.2
Total	100.1	99.9

Number of Dependents	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
One	19.6	14.8
Two	26.6	29.6
Three	21.0	24.7
Four	15.4	8.6
Five	7.0	9.9
Six or more	7.7	7.4
No data	2.8	4.9
Total	100.1	99.9

School Grade Completed	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
0 - 4	2.1	1.2
5 - 8	28.0	19.1
9th	9.8	17.9
10th	14.0	14.2
11th	19.6	16.0
12th	26.6	28.4
13 or more	-	1.9
No data	-	1.2
Total	100.1	99.9

Race	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
Negro	60.1	71.6
Spanish-speaking	3.5	8.6
Other white	23.1	16.6
Other	2.1	-
No data	11.2	3.1
Total	100.0	99.9

Source: Records of female WIN participants who were active in the program in November 1969 and who had been enrolled between November 1968 and June 1969.

TABLE 2

WELFARE HISTORY OF WIN PARTICIPANTS
(in percent)

Number of Months on AFDC During Five Years Preceding WIN Enrollment	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
0 - 6	15.4	11.7
7 - 12	9.1	17.9
13 - 18	9.1	14.8
19 - 24	16.8	14.2
25 - 30	5.6	8.0
31 - 36	9.8	1.9
37 - 42	3.5	2.5
43 - 48	7.0	3.7
49 or longer	22.4	24.1
No data	1.4	1.2
Total	100.1	100.0

Source: See Table 3

TABLE 3

LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Number of Months Employed During 3-Year Period Preceding Enrollment	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
Did not work	42.7	42.0
0 - 6	21.7	27.7
7 - 12	12.6	9.9
13 - 24	14.7	13.6
25 or longer	7.7	1.9
No data	0.7	4.9
Total	100.1	100.0

Number of Jobs Held in 3 Years Preceding Enrollment	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
One	36.4	32.1
Two	9.1	12.3
Three or more	7.0	2.4
Casual work only	2.1	3.7
None, or no data	45.4	49.4
Total	100.0	99.9

Occupation, Last Job	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
Technical, managerial	-	1.2
Clerical	2.8	8.6
Sales	2.8	1.9
Service	14.7	4.3
Operative	24.5	29.0
Private household	10.5	1.9
Laborer, or odd jobs	1.4	1.8
No data	43.4	51.2
Total	100.1	99.9

Duration of Last Job (number of months)	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
6 or less	21.7	23.5
7 - 12	12.6	11.1
13 - 18	4.9	2.5
19 - 24	6.3	3.7
25 or longer	4.9	2.5
No data	49.7	56.8
Total	100.1	100.1

Number of Months Between End of Last Job and WIN Enrollment	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
1 - 6	5.6	5.6
7 - 12	14.0	6.2
13 or more	28.7	35.8
No data	51.7	52.5
Total	100.0	100.1

Industry, Last Job	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
Manufacturing	21.0	26.5
Retail, wholesale trade	4.2	3.7
Public administration	0.7	0.6
Service	28.0	11.1
Agriculture	1.4	-
No data	44.8	58.8
Total	100.1	99.9

(continued)

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Hourly Pay Rate, Last Job	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
$1.30 or less	14.7	3.1
1.31 - $1.50	9.8	7.4
1.51 - 1.70	13.3	17.9
1.71 - 1.90	8.4	8.0
1.91 - 2.10	2.1	3.7
2.11 - 2.30	2.1	3.1
2.30 or more	2.1	2.4
No data	47.6	54.3
Total	100.1	99.9

Source: See Table 3

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF WIN STATUS, NOVEMBER 1969 AND MAY 1970
(in percent)

Components	Asbury		Paterson	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Holding	29.4	18.9*	27.8	9.9**
Orientation	6.3	-	5.6	-
ABE or GED	23.8	11.2	22.2	9.3
Pre-vocational, work experience	9.8	4.9	1.2	3.7
Vocational training	11.2	1.4	9.9	8.6
Regular follow-up	19.6	7.7	30.2	14.8
Employed - completed	-	16.8	-	24.7
Terminated	-	39.2	-	29.0
No data	-	-	3.1	-
Total	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0

---

*Includes one person (0.7 percent of the total) awaiting job entry.

**Includes four persons (2.5 percent of the total) awaiting job entry.

Source: See Table 1

TABLE 5

SERVICES RECEIVED BY WIN PARTICIPANTS

NOVEMBER 1969 and MAY 1970

Service	Asbury		Paterson	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Testing	28.7	51.0	77.2	85.8
Counseling	36.4	65.7	66.0	93.8
ABE and/or GED	41.3	47.6	53.7	56.8
Work experience	32.9	33.6	3.7	5.6
Vocational training	16.1	21.7	24.7	29.0
Job referral	42.0	55.9	32.1	37.7
Placement by WIN or Employment Service*	26.3	32.9	16.0	31.4
Placement by self*	5.2	8.4	14.2	28.3

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*The figure indicates the number of persons placed, not the number of placements made. Some individuals received several placements through WIN, through their own efforts, or through other agencies.

Source: See Table 1

TABLE 6

DURATION OF TRAINING OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, MAY 1970 (in percent)

Number of Months in the WIN Program	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
6 or less *	11.9	8.0
7 - 8	7.0	8.6
9 - 10	4.2	11.7
11 - 12	17.5	9.3
13 - 14	30.8	27.8
15 - 16	11.9	10.5
17 or more	16.8	23.5
No data	-	0.6
Total	100.1	100.0

Number of Months in Formal Education Components (ABE or GED)	Asbury (n=67)	Paterson (n=92)
Less than one	11.9	4.3
1 - 3	22.4	27.2
4 - 6	20.9	13.0
7 - 9	19.4	31.5
10 - 12	9.0	16.3
13 - 15	6.0	5.4
16 - 18	10.4	1.1
19 or more	-	1.1
Total	100.0	99.9

Number of Months in ABE	Asbury (n=55)	Paterson (n=83)
Less than one	18.2	6.0
1 - 3	30.9	36.1
4 - 6	10.9	21.7
7 - 9	16.4	21.7
10 - 12	10.9	8.4
13 or more	12.7	6.0
Total	100.0	99.9

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*Persons employed or terminated shortly after first listing.

TABLE 6 (continued)

DURATION OF TRAINING OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Number of Months in GED	Asbury (n=33)	Paterson (n=35)
Less than one	6.1	8.6
1 - 3	42.4	34.3
4 - 6	33.3	34.3
7 - 9	15.2	8.6
10 - 12	3.0	14.3
Total	100.0	100.1

Number of Months in Work Experience	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=163)
Less than one	2.8	3.1
1 - 2	6.3	3.7
3 - 4	7.0	-
5 - 6	7.0	-
7 or longer	10.5	-
No work experience	66.4	93.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Number of Months in Institutional Vocational Training	Asbury (n=33)	Paterson (n=50)
Less than one	9.1	2.0
1 - 2	42.4	8.0
3 - 4	42.4	22.0
5 - 6	3.0	18.0
7 - 8	-	14.0
9 or more	3.0	36.0
Total	99.9	100.0

Number of Months in Holding	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
Less than one	24.5	32.1
1 - 2	14.7	14.8
3 - 4	12.6	10.5
5 - 6	12.6	12.3
7 - 8	10.5	13.6
9 - 10	11.9	4.9
More than 10	13.3	4.3
No data	-	7.4
Total	100.1	99.9

Source [illegible] Table 1

TABLE 7

INTENSITY OF COUNSELING, JOB REFERRAL, AND PLACEMENT OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Number of Counseling Sessions*	Since Enrollment		During Period Nov. 1969 - May 1970	
	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)	Asbury (n=143)	Paterson (n=162)
One	25.2	8.6	26.6	20.4
Two	21.7	11.1	8.4	7.4
Three	10.5	13.6	4.9	4.9
Four or more	8.4	60.5	-	7.4
No counseling	34.3	6.2	60.1	59.9
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Job Referrals				
One	21.7	17.9	22.4	8.0
Two	17.5	9.3	7.0	1.9
Three	10.5	5.6	4.9	1.9
Four or more	6.3	4.9	2.8	1.2
None	44.1	62.3	62.9	87.0
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

Number of Months From Enrollment to First Job Referral	Asbury	Paterson
Less than one	13.3	4.9
2 - 3	4.9	8.7
4 - 5	6.3	4.9
6 - 7	4.2	3.7
8 - 9	4.9	5.6
10 - 12	10.5	3.7
13 - 16	11.2	6.2
17 or more	0.7	-
No referral	44.1	62.3
Total	100.1	100.0

---

*Does not include enrollment interview.

(continued)

TABLE 7 (continued)

INTENSITY OF COUNSELING, JOB REFERRAL, AND PLACEMENT OF WIN PARTICIPANTS, MAY 1970

(in percent)

	Since Enrollment	
	Asbury	Paterson
Number of Placements By WIN or State Employment Service		
One	27.3	29.0
Two	5.6	1.2
Three or more	-	1.2
None	67.1	68.5
Total	100.0	99.9
Number of Placements by Self*		
One	8.4	22.8
Two	-	4.9
Three or more	-	0.6
None	91.6	71.6
Total	100.0	99.9

	During Period Nov. 1969 - May 1970	
	Asbury	Paterson
One	14.7	26.5
Two	0.7	1.2
Three or more	-	1.2
None	84.6	71.0
Total	100.0	99.9

---

*Several individuals who found jobs through their own efforts had also been placed by WIN or the Employment Service in a previous or subsequent job.

TABLE 8

VOLUME OF REFERRALS, PLACEMENTS, AND EMPLOYMENT, MAY 1970

	Asbury			Paterson		
	Number of Activities	Number of Persons	Percent of Enrollees	Number of Activities	Number of Persons	Percent of Enrollees
Referrals	162	80	56.0	118	61	37.7
Placements:						
By WIN or ES	55	47	32.9	57	51	31.4
By self*	12	12	8.4	56	46	28.3
Total	67	53**	37.1 **	113	80**	49.4 **
Employed in May 1970	-	35	24.5	-	64	39.5

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*Includes all placements through sources other than the WIN program or the Employment Service.

**These figures are not the sum of those above. Several persons at each site were placed by WIN at least once and found other jobs through their own efforts.

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF JOBS HELD BEFORE AND AFTER WIN ENROLLMENT
(in percent)

	Asbury		Paterson	
Occupation	Last Job Before WIN (n=81)	First Job After WIN (n=41)	Last Job Before WIN (n=79)	First Job After WIN (n=75)
Technical, managerial	-	-	2.5	-
Clerical	4.9	41.5	17.7	42.7
Sales	4.9	2.4	3.8	1.3
Service	25.9	31.7	8.9	40.0
Operative	43.2	24.4	59.5	14.7
Private household	18.5	-	3.8	1.3
Laborer, odd jobs	2.5	-	3.8	-
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hourly Pay Rate	(n=75)	(n=42)	(n=74)	(n=75)
$1.30 or less	28.0	2.4	6.8	2.7
$1.31 - $1.50	18.7	21.4	16.2	9.3
$1.51 - $1.70	25.3	19.0	39.2	9.3
$1.71 - $1.90	16.0	14.3	17.6	17.3
$1.91 - $2.10	4.0	23.8	8.1	25.3
$2.11 - $2.30	4.0	7.1	6.8	14.7
$2.31 - $2.50	1.3	11.9	2.7	10.7
$2.51 or more	2.7	-	2.7	10.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0
Other Job Characteristics	(n=69)	(n=34)	(n=75)	(n=75)
Full time*	75.4	91.2	97.3	81.3
Part time	24.6	8.8	2.7	18.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=61)	(n=34)	(n=75)	(n=76)
Year 'round	93.4	97.1	90.7	97.4
Seasonal	6.6	2.9	9.3	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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*35 hours per week or more.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS, AND TERMINATIONS, MAY 1970 (in percent)

Status	Asbury		Paterson	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In training	97	47.8	93	42.3
Employed	44	21.7	69	31.4
Terminated	62	30.5	58	26.4
Total	203	100.0	220	100.0

Source: Enrollee files at each site for all women who were actively participating in the WIN program in November 1969, and who had entered between its inception and the latter date.

TABLE 11

FACTORS EXAMINED FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS, AND TERMINATIONS, MAY 1970

(Chi-Square Values)

Factors	df	Asbury	df	Paterson
Age	8	6.93	6	1.61
Marital status	2	.86	2	.22
Number of dependents	8	4.66	8	6.47
Months on AFDC	6	5.72	6	12.04*
Months in program	4	31.24**	4	66.89 **
Number of counseling sessions	6	10.03	4	20.61**
Testing	2	4.86*	2	9.92**
Adult Basic Education	2	25.73**	2	15.37**
Months in ABE	4	37.43**	4	29.38**
General Educational Development	2	8.03**	4	5.08*
Months in GED	4	11.91**	4	14.39**
Months in formal education	4	34.92**	4	35.56**
Orientation	2	10.96**	2	14.21**
Work experience	2	29.71**	-	-
Months in work experience	4	31.24**	-	-
Institutional training	2	14.10**	2	23.68**
Number of referrals	4	55.42**	4	56.20**
Months in holding	2	14.00**	2	20.46**

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*Significant at 90 percent level of probability.

**Significant at 95 percent or greater level of probability.

TABLE 12

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS AND TERMINATIONS, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Characteristics	Asbury Park			Paterson		
	In Training	Employed	Terminated	In Training	Employed	Terminated
Age (Years)						
24 or younger	13.4	18.2	27.4	23.7	21.7	27.6
25 - 29	30.9	22.7	22.6	30.1	34.8	31.0
30 - 34	24.7	25.0	21.0	33.3	30.4	25.9
35 - 39	12.4	9.1	8.1	7.5	10.1	8.6
40 or older	18.6	25.0	21.0	5.4	2.9	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
Marital Status						
Never married	29.9	22.7	25.8	32.3	29.0	29.8
Once-married*	70.1	77.3	74.2	67.7	71.0	70.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Dependents		(n=198)			(n=211)	
One	26.8	20.5	21.1	24.4	12.1	14.5
Two	26.8	29.5	29.8	25.6	33.3	27.3
Three	23.7	20.5	17.5	26.7	25.8	27.3
Four	12.4	13.6	10.5	10.0	9.1	14.5
Five or more	10.3	15.9	21.1	13.3	19.7	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for Asbury Park, n=203; for Paterson, n=220

*Regardless of their present legal status, almost all once-married women were living apart from their husbands; therefore, the married, widowed, divorced and legally separated were combined for this analysis.

TABLE 13

WELFARE HISTORY: TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS, AND TERMINATIONS , MAY 1970
(in percent)

Months on AFDC in Five Years Preceding Enrollment	Asbury Park			Paterson		
	In Training	Employed	Terminated	In Training	Employed	Terminated
		(n=199)			(n=218)	
12 or less	30.9	32.6	32.3	43.0	18.8	33.9
13 - 24	21.3	30.2	29.0	24.7	30.4	23.2
25 - 36	10.6	14.0	16.1	8.6	11.6	14.3
37 or longer	37.2	23.3	22.6	23.7	39.1	28.6
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

TABLE 14

WIN PROGRAM EXPERIENCES OF TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS AND TERMINATIONS, MAY 1970

(in percent)

	Asbury Park			Paterson		
	In Training	Employed	Terminated	In Training	Employed	Terminated
Number of Months In WIN Program						
6 or less	3.1	11.4	27.9	2.2	-	29.8
7 - 12	35.0	43.1	47.6	52.7	27.5	52.6
13 or longer	61.9	45.5	24.6	45.2	72.5	17.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	99.9
Number of Counseling Sessions					(n=219)	
None*	27.8	22.7	43.5	3.2	1.4	10.3
One	27.8	38.6	27.4	-	11.6	12.1
Two	24.7	27.3	21.0	4.3	13.0	15.5
Three	12.4	9.1	1.6	12.9	10.1	17.2
Four or more	7.2	2.3	6.5	79.6	63.8	44.8
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Testing						
Tested	63.9	52.3	46.8	95.7	88.4	79.3
Not tested	36.1	47.7	53.2	4.3	11.6	20.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Adult Basic Education**		(n=191)			(n=208)	
Attended ABE classes	56.5	11.4	36.4	70.7	47.1	39.7
Not enrolled	43.5	88.6	63.6	39.3	52.9	60.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Months In ABE						
None	42.3	88.6	58.0	25.8	52.2	60.3
Three or less	23.7	9.1	32.3	15.1	20.3	19.0
Four months or longer	34.0	2.3	9.7	59.1	27.5	20.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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*Apart from enrollment interview.

**Excluding those who were enrolled but did not attend during the study period.

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for Asbury, n=203; for Paterson, n=220

(continued)

TABLE 14 (continued)

WIN PROGRAM EXPERIENCES OF TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS AND TERMINATIONS, MAY 1970
(in percent)

General Educational Development*	Asbury Park			Paterson		
	In Training	Employed	Terminated	In Training	Employed	Terminated
		(n=198)			(n=219)	
Attended GED	37.2	20.5	18.3	22.8	20.3	8.6
Not enrolled	62.8	79.5	81.7	77.2	79.7	91.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Months In GED						
Three or less	13.4	11.4	11.3	5.4	13.0	6.9
Four months or longer	25.8	9.1	8.1	18.3	7.2	1.7
No GED	60.8	79.5	80.6	76.3	79.7	91.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Total Months In Educational Component						
None	29.9	77.3	53.2	19.4	47.8	55.2
Six or less	36.1	18.2	35.5	26.9	26.0	32.8
Seven months or longer	34.0	4.5	11.3	53.7	26.1	12.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1
Orientation						
Enrolled	57.7	29.5	40.3	53.8	26.1	32.8
Not enrolled	42.3	70.5	59.7	46.2	73.9	67.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work Experience						
Enrolled	29.9	65.9	16.1	9.7	7.2	1.7
Not enrolled	70.1	34.1	83.9	90.3	92.8	98.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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*Excludes those who were enrolled but did not attend.

(continued)

TABLE 14 (continued)

WIN PROGRAM EXPERIENCES OF TRAINEES, JOB HOLDERS AND TERMINATIONS, MAY 1970
(in percent)

	Asbury Park			Paterson		
	In Training	Employed	Terminated	In Training	Employed	Terminated
Number of Months In Work Experience						
None	70.1	34.1	83.9	90.3	92.8	98.3
Four or less	14.4	40.9	9.7	3.2	-	-
Five or longer	15.5	25.0	6.5	6.5	7.2	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Institutional Vocational Training*		(n=201)			(n=211)	
Attended	11.5	37.2	14.5	31.0	40.6	3.4
Not enrolled	88.5	62.8	85.5	69.0	59.4	96.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Months From Enrollment To First Job Referral						
Five or less	19.6	59.1	11.3	4.3	30.4	17.2
Six or more	28.9	36.4	16.1	7.5	34.8	6.9
No referral	51.5	4.5	72.6	88.2	34.8	75.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Job Referrals						
None	51.5	2.3	72.6	87.1	33.3	75.9
One	24.7	36.4	14.5	6.5	30.4	15.5
Two or more	23.7	61.4	12.9	6.5	36.2	8.6
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0
Number of Months In Holding						
Four or less	59.4	77.3	41.0	77.8	77.0	44.6
Five or more	40.6	22.7	59.0	22.2	23.0	55.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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*Excludes those who were enrolled but did not attend.

TABLE 15

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Age	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
24 or younger	31.1	35.0	20.0	19.0
25 - 29	21.3	12.5	31.7	21.4
30 - 34	24.6	7.5	28.3	23.8
35 - 39	4.9	20.0	10.0	14.3
40 - 44	14.8	15.0	1.7	4.8
45 or older	3.3	10.0	8.3	16.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Marital Status				
Never married	26.2	20.0	33.3	19.0
Married	47.5*	17.5	5.0	9.5
Widowed	4.9	10.0	3.3	9.5
Divorced, legally separated	19.7	52.5	56.7	61.9
No data	1.6	-	1.7	-
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
Number of Dependents				
One	32.8	40.0	21.7	19.0
Two	36.1	10.0	23.3	28.6
Three	13.1	42.5	26.7	23.8
Four	1.6	7.5	13.3	14.3
Five	11.5	-	3.3	4.8
Six or more	4.9	-	8.3	7.2
No data	-	-	3.3	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1
Race				
Negro	63.3	48.6	69.0	64.1
Spanish-speaking	3.3	2.7	15.5	25.6
Other white	33.3	48.6	13.8	10.3
Other	-	-	1.7	-
Total	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0

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*Almost all (42.6 percent) were living apart from their husbands, although not legally separated. See text for discussion.

(continued)

TABLE 15 (continued)

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Highest School Grade Completed	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
0 - 4	1.6	5.0	1.7	4.8
5 - 8	18.0	17.5	25.0	28.6
9th	21.3	12.5	21.7	14.3
10th	21.3	25.0	18.3	16.7
11th	14.8	10.0	20.0	14.3
12th	19.7	25.0	13.3	14.3
13 or more	3.3	5.0	-	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2

Source: WIN and Welfare office records of respondents.

TABLE 16

WELFARE HISTORY OF INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Number of Months on AFDC in Five Years Preceding WIN Enrollment	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
0 - 12	49.1	70.0	41.7	50.0
13 - 24	21.3	7.5	18.3	11.9
25 - 36	6.6	7.5	11.7	7.2
37 or more	19.7	7.5	28.3	26.2
No data	3.3	7.5	-	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

Source: WIN and Welfare office records of respondents.

TABLE 17

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Household Composition	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Husband, wife & children	4.9	12.5	1.7	7.1
Husband, wife, children & other adults	-	-	-	2.4
Mother & children	83.6	65.0	81.7	71.4
Mother, children & other relatives	11.5	17.5	13.3	11.9
Mother, children & unrelated persons	-	5.0	1.7	4.8
No data	-	-	1.7	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
Number of Persons In Household				
One	1.6	-	-	2.4
Two	24.6	25.0	15.0	14.3
Three	29.5	15.0	20.0	23.8
Four	19.7	32.5	26.7	21.4
Five	6.6	20.0	20.0	21.4
Six	9.8	7.5	5.0	4.8
Seven or more	8.2	-	13.3	7.1
No data	-	-	-	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Own Children				
One	32.8	40.0	23.3	19.0
Two	31.1	12.5	21.7	28.6
Three	18.0	40.0	25.0	23.8
Four	4.9	7.5	16.7	14.3
Five	9.8	-	1.7	4.8
Six	3.3	-	6.7	4.8
Seven or more	-	-	3.3	2.4
No data	-	-	1.7	2.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.1

(continued)

TABLE 17 (continued)

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Age of Children	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
All under 6	37.7	40.0	20.0	31.0
All 6 - 11	19.7	10.0	15.0	11.9
All 12 - 17	11.5	15.0	8.3	9.5
Under 6; 6 - 11	9.8	7.5	26.7	21.4
Under 6; 12 - 17	3.3	5.0	1.7	7.1
Under 6; 6 - 11; 12 - 17	6.6	7.5	3.3	14.3
6 - 11; 12 - 17	11.5	15.0	23.3	-
No data	-	-	1.7	4.8
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 18

SCHOOL PROBLEMS OF RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN-INTERVIEW SAMPLE, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Number of Slow Learners*				
None	85.2	92.5	80.0	64.3
One child	8.2	7.5	16.7	23.8
Two children	6.6	-	3.3	11.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
School Notified Parent of Problem				
Yes	14.8	17.5	33.3	31.0
No	85.2	82.5	66.7	69.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of Problem				
Fighting	3.3	7.5	21.7	16.7
Absence	-	2.5	5.0	2.4
Scholarship	4.9	7.5	6.7	9.5
Health	4.9	-	-	-
Not applicable	86.9	82.5	66.7	71.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

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*Children who were two or more years older than the usual age for their grade. "Usual" ages used as a guide ran from six for grade 1 to seventeen for grade 12.

TABLE 19

BIRTHPLACE AND YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE PROGRAM AREA - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Birthplace	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group
New Jersey	42.6	47.5	21.7	7.1
New York	3.3	10.0	3.3	2.4
North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia	24.6	10.0	35.0	35.6
Other continental United States	23.0	25.0	20.0	19.0
Puerto Rico	3.3	5.0	16.7	19.0
Foreign born	1.6	2.5	3.3	4.8
No data	1.6	-	-	11.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8
Years of Residence in Program Area				
Less than one	4.9	15.0	3.3	-
1 - 2	6.6	10.0	8.3	9.5
3 - 5	18.0	17.5	18.3	7.1
6 - 10	21.3	12.5	28.3	19.0
11 - 15	16.4	2.5	15.0	33.3
16 - 20	4.9	7.5	5.0	14.3
21 or more	27.9	35.0	21.6	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.9

TABLE 20

HOUSING - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Length of Time at Present Address	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Less than 6 months	23.0	42.5	16.7	28.6
7 - 12 months	18.0	20.0	26.7	11.9
13 - 24 months	18.0	10.0	21.7	19.0
25 - 36 months	16.4	10.0	11.7	7.1
37 months or longer	22.9	17.5	23.3	33.4
No data	1.6	-	-	-
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0
Public Housing				
Yes	16.4	10.0	20.0	26.2
No	83.6	90.0	80.0	73.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Monthly Rent				
$70 or less	9.8	2.5	26.7	16.7
71 - $ 80	4.9	-	11.7	14.3
81 - 90	11.5	2.5	6.7	11.9
91 - 100	9.8	22.5	20.0	9.5
101 - 110	14.8	5.0	3.3	9.5
111 - 120	9.8	7.5	10.0	16.7
121 - 130	13.1	25.0	8.3	9.5
131 or more	11.5	15.0	13.3	9.5
No data, not applicable	14.8	20.0	-	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(continued)

TABLE 20 (continued)

HOUSING - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Number of Rooms				
Three or less	4.9	10.0	-	2.4
Four	23.0	15.0	16.7	14.3
Five	26.2	37.5	43.3	45.2
Six	21.3	12.5	25.0	28.7
Seven or more	19.7	20.0	15.0	9.5
No data	4.9	5.0	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
Number of Bedrooms				
One	23.0	25.0	5.0	11.9
Two	29.5	35.0	51.7	52.4
Three	36.1	30.0	30.0	31.0
Four or more	9.9	10.0	13.3	4.8
No data	1.6	-	-	-
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1
Condition of Housing				
Good	47.5	52.5	56.7	81.0
Some Problems	42.6	37.5	31.7	9.5
Poor	9.8	10.0	11.7	9.5
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

TABLE 21

OWNERSHIP OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969

Appliances	Percent Owning Household Good				Percent Reporting Household Good In Working Condition			
	Asbury		Paterson		Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group
Refrigerator	80.5	70.0	93.3	76.2	75.4	67.5	90.0	69.0
Washing machine	31.1	37.5	45.0	42.9	26.2	35.0	40.0	45.5
Dryer	20.0	3.3	2.4	1.7	15.0	3.3	2.4	1.7
Television	91.8	90.0	93.3	92.9	85.2	82.5	81.7	85.7
Sewing machine	27.9	35.5	36.7	31.0	27.9	30.0	28.3	26.2
Radio	85.2	85.0	83.3	92.9	75.4	77.5	76.7	78.6
Electric iron	88.5	95.0	93.3	97.6	88.5	92.5	88.3	92.9
Record player	67.2	77.5	71.7	64.3	57.4	70.0	66.7	59.5
Electric mixer	29.5	42.5	30.0	35.7	29.5	40.0	30.0	31.0
Hair dryer	31.1	27.5	26.7	19.0	27.9	25.0	26.7	19.0
Other Goods								
Car	23.0	35.0	13.3	14.3	18.0	25.0	6.7	9.5
Telephone	74.4	65.0	75.0	69.0				

TABLE 22

HEALTH CARE - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969

(in percent)

Times Saw Doctor With Children in Year Preceding Interview	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
One	6.6	15.0	3.3	2.4
Two	6.6	12.5	10.0	4.8
Three	11.5	15.0	11.7	11.9
Four	13.1	7.5	8.3	16.7
Five	6.6	7.5	-	4.8
Six or more	45.9	25.0	55.0	50.0
Not at all	6.6	17.5	10.0	9.5
No data	3.3	-	1.7	-
Total	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.1
Times Saw Doctor for Self in Year Preceding Interview				
One	6.6	22.5	10.0	4.8
Two	16.4	20.0	18.3	11.9
Three	9.8	2.5	5.0	19.0
Four	9.8	12.5	11.7	7.1
Five	1.6	-	5.0	2.4
Six or more	45.9	20.0	41.7	40.5
Not at all	9.8	22.5	8.3	14.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Visits to Dentist for Children				
One	24.6	15.0	18.3	9.5
Two	8.2	7.5	10.0	16.7
Three or more	21.3	10.0	33.3	31.0
Not at all	36.1	35.0	26.7	38.1
No data, not applicable	9.8	22.5	11.7	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(continued)

TABLE 22 (continued)

HEALTH CARE - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Visits to Dentist for Self	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
One	16.4	17.5	21.7	16.7
Two	16.4	12.5	15.0	7.1
Three or more	27.9	15.0	23.3	19.0
Not at all	39.3	55.0	38.3	57.1
No data, not applicable	-	-	1.7	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Eye Examination/Glasses for Children in Year Preceding Interview				
Yes	44.3	25.0	46.7	35.7
No	52.5	60.0	48.3	61.9
No data, not applicable	3.3	15.0	5.0	2.4
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Vision Tests for Self in Year Preceding Interview				
Yes	72.1	37.5	53.3	35.7
No	27.9	62.5	46.7	64.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 23

MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969

Type of Organization	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group
	(Percent Holding Membership)			
Labor union	-	-	-	-
PTA	24.6	17.5	16.7	7.1
Political clubs	3.3	-	-	-
Church	75.4	52.5	25.0	31.0
Church club or class	11.4	2.5	5.0	4.8
Civic organization	1.6	-	-	-
Other	16.4	10.0	15.0	4.8
Number of Memberships Claimed	(in percent)			
One	42.6	42.5	30.0	21.4
Two	29.5	12.5	15.0	4.8
Three	8.2	7.5	1.7	7.1
Four or more	1.6	-	1.7	2.4
None	18.0	37.5	51.7	64.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

TABLE 24

LAST JOB - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Last Job - Occupation	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Professional, technical, managerial	-	-	1.7	-
Clerical	9.8	12.5	5.0	9.5
Sales	6.6	5.0	1.7	4.8
Service	27.9	17.5	28.3	16.7
Operative	37.7	42.5	48.3	52.4
Private household	13.1	12.5	6.7	9.5
Odd jobs	-	2.5	-	-
No data	4.9	7.5	8.3	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Last Job - Industry				
Manufacturing	31.1	37.5	48.3	45.2
Retail, wholesale trade	9.8	7.5	6.7	11.9
Finance, insurance, real estate	-	5.0	-	-
Public administration	3.3	2.5	3.3	2.4
Transportation, communication	1.6	-	-	-
Service	47.5	37.5	33.3	31.0
Agriculture	-	2.5	-	-
No data	6.6	7.5	8.3	9.5
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

Last Job - Duration (number of months)				
6 or less	45.9	52.5	33.3	31.0
7 - 12	13.1	10.0	23.3	21.4
13 - 24	14.8	10.0	13.3	14.3
25 - 36	1.6	5.0	5.0	11.9
37 - 48	6.6	7.5	5.0	7.1
49 or more	6.6	7.5	10.0	4.8
No data	11.5	7.5	10.0	9.5
Total	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0

(continued)

TABLE 24 (continued)

LAST JOB - INTERVIEW SAMPLES , NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Last Job - Hourly Wage	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=56)	Control Group (n=35)	WIN Group (n=53)	Control Group (n=35)
$1.30 or less	28.6	34.3	34.0	11.4
1.31 - $1.50	8.9	8.6	11.3	22.9
1.51 - 1.70	30.4	28.6	17.0	20.0
1.71 - 1.90	14.3	11.4	13.2	14.3
1.91 - 2.10	3.6	5.7	13.2	22.9
2.11 - 2.30	5.4	2.9	7.5	5.7
2.31 - 2.50	7.1	2.9	1.9	2.9
2.51 or more	1.8	5.7	1.9	-
Total	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1
Source of Last Job	(n=61)	(n=40)	(n=60)	(n=42)
Friends, relatives	24.6	47.5	51.7	45.2
Advertisements	31.1	17.5	13.3	16.7
Applied at firm directly	24.6	7.5	13.3	21.4
State Employment Service	9.8	15.0	13.3	9.5
Other	1.6	5.0	-	-
No data, not applicable	8.2	7.5	8.3	7.1
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9

TABLE 25

THE KIND OF WORK WANTED - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Occupation Wanted				
Professional, technical, managerial work	1.6	-	-	-
Clerical	37.7	22.5	16.7	7.1
Sales	1.6	5.0	5.0	-
Service	26.2	27.5	25.0	14.3
Operative	16.4	35.0	30.0	47.6
Private household	1.6	7.5	3.3	9.5
No data	14.8	2.5	20.0	21.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
Same Occupation as Last Job?				
Yes	31.1	57.5	38.3	47.6
No	52.5	37.5	4.0	33.3
No data	16.4	5.0	21.7	19.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Pay Wanted	(n=56)	(n=39)	(n=51)	(n=36)
$1.30 or less	3.6	2.6	-	-
1.31 - $1.50	7.1	-	-	-
1.51 - 1.70	21.4	35.9	21.6	11.1
1.71 - 1.90	23.2	25.6	23.5	27.8
1.91 - 2.10	23.2	15.4	29.4	38.9
2.11 - 2.30	3.6	10.3	13.7	11.1
2.31 - 2.50	10.7	5.1	9.8	2.8
2.50 or more	7.1	5.1	2.0	8.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

(continued)

TABLE 25 (continued)

THE KIND OF WORK WANTED - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Would You Rather Have...	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
A high paying, temporary job	24.6	37.5	25.0	23.8
A lower paying, steady job	65.6	62.5	75.0	73.8
Don't know	9.8	-	-	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Would You Rather Have...				
An interesting job	44.3	55.0	40.0	23.8
A steady job	50.8	45.0	60.0	73.8
Don't know	4.9	-	-	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Would You Rather Have...				
A job that is the same every day	21.3	20.0	28.3	47.6
A job that is different every day	68.9	77.5	71.8	47.6
Don't know	9.8	2.5	-	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

TABLE 26

INCOME OF INTERVIEW GROUPS, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Total Income Last Month	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
$100 or less	-	2.5	3.3	-
101 - $150	1.6	5.0	1.7	2.4
151 - 200	6.6	15.0	11.7	19.0
201 - 250	11.5	20.0	3.3	16.7
251 - 300	26.2	15.0	18.3	21.4
301 - 350	13.1	25.0	21.7	21.4
351 - 400	16.4	12.5	26.7	7.1
401 or more	23.0	5.0	13.3	11.9
No data	1.6	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Share of Income From Welfare				
Entire income	29.5	67.5	31.7	71.4
More than half	57.4	15.0	53.3	16.7
Some, but less than half	9.8	15.0	11.7	11.9
No income from welfare	1.6	2.5	-	-
Insufficient data	1.6	-	3.3	-
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Amount of Welfare Grant				
$ 1 - $100	6.6	10.0	5.0	2.4
101 - 150	4.9	15.0	10.0	14.3
151 - 200	6.6	10.0	15.0	21.4
201 - 250	36.1	22.5	15.0	14.3
251 - 300	18.0	7.5	16.7	23.8
301 - 350	11.5	22.5	21.7	14.3
351 - 400	3.3	7.5	8.3	4.8
401 or more	9.8	2.5	5.0	4.8
No data	3.3	2.5	3.3	-
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1

(continued)

TABLE 26 (continued)

INCOME OF INTERVIEW GROUPS, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Income From Earnings	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
$ 1 - $100	4.9	2.5	1.7	9.5
101 - 150	1.6	7.5	-	-
151 - 200	-	2.5	1.7	2.4
201 - 250	4.9	-	1.7	-
251 or more	-	-	-	2.4
Not applicable	85.2	87.5	93.3	85.7
No data	3.3	-	1.7	-
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0
Income From Other Sources				
$ 1 - $100	36.1	10.0	53.3	9.5
101 - 150	9.8	-	3.3	-
151 - 200	6.6	5.0	10.0	2.4
201 - 250	1.6	2.5	-	2.4
251 - 300	-	2.5	-	-
301 - 350	1.6	-	-	2.4
351 or more	1.6	-	-	-
No data	42.6	80.0	33.3	83.3
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

TABLE 27

EXPENSES - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Food Expense in Week Preceding Interview				
$10 or less	1.6	-	3.3	-
11 - $15	9.8	5.0	8.3	7.1
16 - 20	18.0	15.0	10.0	16.7
21 - 25	18.0	12.5	11.7	11.9
26 - 30	13.1	12.5	15.0	14.3
31 - 35	3.3	20.0	11.7	7.1
36 or more	29.5	35.0	35.0	40.5
No data	6.6	-	5.0	2.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Used Food Stamps				
Yes	55.7	25.0	23.3	14.4
No	41.0	72.5	73.3	85.7
No data	3.3	2.5	3.3	-
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1
Gas and Electric Bill in Month Preceding Interview				
$5.00 or less	1.6	-	3.3	9.5
5.01 - $10.00	13.1	22.5	21.7	-
10.01 - 15.00	14.8	12.5	10.0	2.4
15.01 - 20.00	14.8	10.0	5.0	2.4
20.01 - 25.00	6.6	5.0	1.7	2.4
25.01 or more	9.8	5.0	-	4.8
Don't know	8.2	7.5	6.6	28.6
Not applicable	31.2	37.5	51.7	50.0
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1
Total Utility Cost in Month Preceding Interview				
None, no data	26.2	32.5	20.0	47.6
$10 or less	9.8	7.5	25.0	9.5
11 - $20	16.4	15.0	18.3	7.1
21 - 30	6.6	10.0	10.0	14.3
31 - 40	4.9	10.0	15.0	11.9
41 - 50	-	12.5	5.0	7.1
51 - 60	14.8	5.0	1.7	-
61 or more	21.3	7.5	5.0	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

TABLE 28

CLOTHING AND OTHER EXPENDITURES - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Amount Spent for Children's Clothing During Three Months Preceding Interview	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
$ 40 or less	16.4	30.0	8.3	9.5
41 - $ 50	19.7	7.5	5.0	14.3
51 - 60	3.3	10.0	6.7	11.9
61 - 70	3.3	5.0	8.3	2.4
71 - 80	8.2	2.5	10.0	4.8
81 - 90	8.2	2.5	5.0	4.8
91 - 100	11.5	15.0	13.3	7.1
$101 or more	16.4	10.0	38.3	40.5
Did not buy	13.1	17.5	5.0	4.8
Total	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1
Amount Spent for Own Clothing During Three Months Preceding Interview				
$10 or less	14.8	7.5	6.7	7.1
11 - $15	8.2	2.5	1.7	7.1
16 - 20	13.1	-	5.0	9.5
21 - 25	4.9	-	3.3	7.1
26 - 30	6.6	10.0	3.3	4.8
31 - 35	-	-	-	2.4
36 - 40	4.9	2.5	1.7	4.8
$41 or more	13.1	7.5	36.7	9.5
Did not buy	34.4	70.0	41.7	47.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9
Amount Spent on Household Goods During Three Months Preceding Interview				
$40 or less	19.7	15.0	21.7	19.0
$41 or more	6.5	2.5	11.7	7.2
Did not buy	73.8	82.5	66.7	73.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

(continued)

TABLE 28 (continued)

CLOTHING AND OTHER EXPENDITURES - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(in percent)

Recreation Expenditure During Month Preceding Interview	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
$5.00 or less	11.5	15.0	5.0	9.5
5.01 - $11.00	4.9	7.5	10.0	-
$11.01 or more	4.9	2.5	11.6	7.2
Did not spend	78.7	75.0	73.3	83.3
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

TABLE 29

IMMEDIATE NEEDS AND ESTIMATE OF INCOME STATUS - INTERVIEW GROUPS, NOVEMBER 1969

(in percent)

	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Family's Biggest Immediate Need				
Car	4.9	-	-	2.4
Clothing	37.7	42.5	55.0	38.1
Food	3.3	12.5	6.7	23.8
Furniture	9.8	5.0	8.3	2.4
Household articles or equipment	18.0	10.0	13.3	14.3
Pay debts	16.4	10.0	5.0	9.5
Other	9.8	17.5	11.7	7.1
Don't know	-	2.5	-	2.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
"Speaking of income alone, would you say you were better off last month than you were a year ago at this time?"				
Better off	44.3	35.0	58.3	31.0
About the same	31.1	25.0	30.0	38.1
Worse off	24.6	40.0	11.7	28.6
Don't know	-	-	-	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
"A year from now do you expect to be better off, about the same or worse off than you are now?"				
Better off	78.7	95.0	88.3	71.4
About the same	6.6	-	3.3	4.8
Worse off	3.3	-	-	4.8
Don't know	11.5	5.0	8.3	19.0
Total	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0

TABLE 30

PERSONAL HOPES - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(Percent Mentioning Topic)

Summary of Personal Hopes	Asbury WIN Group (n=61)	Asbury Control Group (n=40)	Paterson WIN Group (n=60)	Paterson Control Group (n=42)
Economic	78.7	72.5	80.0	64.3
Job or work concerns	21.3	10.0	53.3	21.4
Other hopes for self	37.7	27.5	33.3	21.4
Family	57.4	44.0	58.3	59.5
Hopes for society	-	-	1.7	-
Economic Hopes				
Improved standard of living	29.5	15.0	31.7	11.9
Food or clothing	11.8	12.5	5.0	11.9
Own home	23.0	30.0	38.3	23.8
Better house or apartment	19.7	17.5	18.3	19.0
Car	16.4	25.0	8.3	14.2
Household equipment	8.2	12.5	13.3	11.9
Wealth	9.8	-	1.7	7.1
Other economic aspirations	1.6	-	3.3	7.1
None	21.3	27.5	20.0	35.7
Employment Hopes				
Congenial work	6.6	-	31.7	7.1
Steady job	13.1	10.0	18.3	9.5
Other	1.6	-	3.3	4.8
None	78.7	90.0	46.7	78.6

(continued)

TABLE 30 (continued)

PERSONAL HOPES - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(Percent Mentioning Topic)

Other Self-Related Hopes	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Health	9.8	7.5	5.0	19.0
Own education	16.4	7.5	18.3	7.1
More pleasure	6.6	2.5	5.0	11.9
Other	4.9	10.0	5.0	7.1
None	62.3	72.5	66.7	54.8
Family Hopes				
Happy family life	8.2	7.5	1.7	9.5
Health	9.8	7.5	3.3	7.1
Education of children	21.3	10.0	18.3	14.2
Remarriage	9.8	5.0	11.7	16.7
General family hopes	6.6	15.0	31.7	19.0
None	42.6	55.0	41.7	40.5
Hopes Concerning Society				
Social justice	-	-	-	-
Civil peace	-	-	-	-
International peace	-	-	1.7	-
Other	-		-	-
None	100.0	100.0	98.3	100.0

TABLE 31

COMPARISON OF CONCERNS OF INTERVIEW SAMPLES WITH CONCERNS OF UNITED STATES SAMPLES (in percent)

Concerns	United States Sample*				Interview Sample	
	Female	Lower Income Group	Nonwhite	Age 21-29	All WIN Participants	All Control Group Members
Personal Hopes						
Values/character	23.0	17.0	13.0	16.0	27.3	23.2
Economic	63.0	66.0	76.0	71.0	79.3	68.3
Job/work	6.0	11.0	6.0	27.0	37.2	15.9
Health	53.0	45.0	33.0	33.0	7.4	13.4
Family	52.0	43.0	37.0	64.0	57.9	52.4
Political	1.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	-	-
Social	6.0	6.0	7.0	4.0	-	-
International	11.0	10.0	10.0	12.0	0.8	-
Status quo	11.0	10.0	8.0	6.0	-	-
Personal Fears						
Value/character	4.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	25.6	9.8
Economic	44.0	43.0	41.0	48.0	57.0	48.9
Job/work	3.0	2.0	2.0	11.0	8.3	1.2
Health	59.0	49.0	32.0	53.0	20.7	23.2
Family	30.0	27.0	27.0	29.0	41.3	39.0
Political	4.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	-	-
Social	3.0	2.0	6.0	2.0	-	-
International	23.0	19.0	16.0	33.0	-	-
No fears/worries	11.0	11.0	14.0	6.0	-	-
Status quo	-	-	-	-	27.3	13.4

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*Cantril, Hadley, The Pattern of Human Concerns, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1965, Table 46, p. 407.

TABLE 32

PERSONAL FEARS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969
(Percent Mentioning Topic)

Summary of Personal Fears	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=61)	Control Group (n=40)	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=42)
Economic	59.0	52.5	54.0	45.2
Job or work situation	4.9	2.5	11.7	-
Other self-related fears	54.1	47.5	38.3	18.0
Family	45.9	44.0	36.7	35.7
Fears for society	-	-	-	-
Economic Fears				
Worse standard of living	13.1	20.0	16.7	19.0
Not enough food	18.0	10.0	1.7	14.2
Insufficient clothing	1.6	2.5	1.7	4.8
No place to live	23.0	17.5	3.3	2.4
No change in status	19.7	12.5	35.0	14.2
Other	4.9	5.0	6.7	4.8
None	41.0	47.5	45.0	54.8
Job or Work Fears				
Heavy work	1.6	-	-	-
Unemployment	3.3	2.5	8.3	-
Other	-	-	3.3	-
None	95.1	97.5	88.3	100.0
Other Self-Related Fears				
Own illness	29.5	35.0	11.7	11.9
Dependency	13.1	7.5	11.7	-
Other	11.5	5.0	15.0	7.1
None	45.9	52.5	61.7	81.0
Family Fears				
Family strife and unhappiness	18.0	12.5	5.0	14.2
Family illness	18.0	30.0	6.7	9.5
Inadequate opportunities for children	4.9	5.0	8.3	-
Inability to care for family needs	9.8	2.5	15.0	4.8
None	54.1	55.0	63.3	67.7

TABLE 33

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF WORKING - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, NOVEMBER 1969

(in percent)

Advantages of Working	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group
Independence	32.8	60.0	40.0	40.5
Security	3.3	2.5	8.3	-
Income	36.1	25.0	25.0	21.4
Easier budgeting	14.8	7.5	18.3	21.4
Able to get credit	3.3	-	-	-
Other (meeting people, etc.)	1.6	2.5	-	7.1
None	3.3	-	5.0	2.4
No data	4.9	2.5	3.3	7.1
Total	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9

Disadvantages of Working	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group	Control Group	WIN Group	Control Group
Child-care problems	24.6	2.5	18.3	19.0
Loss of pay if ill	4.9	2.5	15.0	7.1
Separation from children	11.5	40.0	-	4.8
Increased expenses	8.2	2.5	5.0	4.8
Less welfare	6.6	-	3.3	4.8
Transportation problems	4.9	5.0	-	-
Other	18.0	12.5	6.7	4.8
None	13.1	27.5	45.0	40.5
No data	8.2	7.5	6.7	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1

TABLE 34

EMPLOYMENT STATUS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Employment Status	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=37)	WIN Group (n=58)	Control Group (n=39)
Employed	16.7	13.5	15.5	7.7
Unemployed- but worked during period	5.0	10.8	10.3	10.3
Did not work	78.3	75.7	74.1	82.1
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1
Present Job - Occupation				
Clerical work	10.0	5.4	-	-
Sales	1.7	-	1.7	-
Service	3.3	2.7	8.6	5.1
Operative	1.7	-	5.2	2.6
Private household	-	5.4	-	-
Not employed	83.3	86.5	84.5	92.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Present Job - Industry				
Manufacturing	1.7	2.7	5.2	2.6
Retail/wholesale trade	1.7	-	1.7	2.6
Finance, insurance, real estate	1.7	-	-	-
Public administration	8.3	2.7	1.7	-
Service	3.3	8.1	6.9	-
Not employed	83.3	86.5	84.5	94.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
Duration of Present Job				
One month or less	8.3	5.4	1.7	-
Two months	-	-	5.2	-
Three months	1.7	-	1.7	-
Four months or longer	6.6	8.1	6.8	7.7
Not employed	83.3	86.5	84.5	92.3
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

(continued)

TABLE 34 (continued)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Method of Finding Present Job	Asbury		Paterson	
	WIN Group (n=60)	Control Group (n=37)	WIN Group (n=58)	Control Group (n=39)
Friends, relatives	3.3	2.7	5.2	-
Advertisements	1.7	5.4	1.7	-
Applied at firm	1.7	-	1.7	2.6
WIN or Employment Service	8.3	5.4	5.2	2.6
Other	-	-	1.7	2.6
No job	83.3	86.5	84.5	92.3
No data	1.7	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.
Present Job, Hourly Pay Rate				
$1.50 or less	3.3	2.7	-	2.6
1.51 - $1.60	3.3	-	3.4	-
1.61 - 1.70	1.7	-	1.7	-
1.71 - 1.90	1.7	2.7	3.4	5.1
1.91 - 2.10	-	2.7	3.4	-
2.11 - 2.30	6.7	2.7	-	-
2.31 - 2.50	-	-	1.7	-
No job	83.3	86.5	84.5	92.3
No data	-	2.7	1.7	-
Total	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.0
Present Job - Hours				
Full time	13.3	2.7	6.9	5.1
Part time	3.3	10.8	8.6	2.6
Not employed	83.3	86.5	84.5	92.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 35

FACTORS TESTED FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE - INTERVIEW SAMPLES (Chi-Square Values)

Factor	df	Difference Between Interviews All WIN Participants	Difference Between Interviews All Control Group Members	Difference Between WIN and Control Groups at Second Interview
Future source of job information	4	10.60*	6.04	3.83
Future occupation wanted	4	7.6	3.57	15.37*
Future pay wanted	6	15.94*	21.59*	6.47
Are such jobs available	1	.01	.13	.91
Number of persons in household	4	1.75	.89	3.48
Number of children	4	.19	.22	7.31
Age of children	5	.60	2.43	.85
Children rated poor students	2	.10	5.53**	6.48*
Children having school problems	2	3.58	.90	1.21
Type of school problem	2	2.15	.27	.62
Moved within six months	1	5.28*	9.39*	1.22
Rent	5	4.89	4.01	5.19
Number of rooms	4	2.32	1.91	7.13
Condition of house	2	.08	1.69	1.17
Have washing machine	1	.67	.11	.02
Have dryer	1	.40	.57	6.40*
Have refrigerator	1	3.65**	14.45*	.04
Have sewing machine	1	.91	.74	.14
Have radio	1	3.77*	.03	1.6
Have television set	1	.22	.17	.28
Have iron	1	2.25	.22	.11
Have record player	1	3.29*	1.13	.01
Have electric mixer	1	.68	.03	.72
Have hair dryer	1	.93	.69	.42
Have car	1	1.45	.02	.02
Making payments on items above	2	.26	3.06	1.54
Have phone	1	4.85*	.03	10.36*
Use food stamps	1	.01	.36	6.38*
Expenditure for utilities	5	2.62	4.95	14.59*
Expenditure on health services	2	3.25	4.39	3.82
Bought children's clothing	1	.19	1.67	6.23*
Expenditure on children's clothing	2	17.32*	8.96*	4.73**

(continued)

TABLE 35 (continued)

FACTORS TESTED FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE - INTERVIEW SAMPLES
(Chi-Square Values)

Factor	df	Difference Between Interviews: All WIN Participants	Difference Between Interviews: All Control Group Members	Difference Between WIN and Control Groups at Second Interview
Bought clothes for self	1	1.86	.02	16.66*
Bought household goods	1	.53	.60	1.93
Expenditure for recreation	1	.01	.62	.02
Total income	5	6.95	2.37	11.52*
Income from welfare	5	.74	3.85	3.58
Share of income from welfare	2	1.01	.06	41.84*
Share of income from earnings	2	5.06**	.43	.02
Income progress since last year	2	1.12	2.90	1.70
Income expectations for next year	2	5.16**	3.96	5.36**
Most pressing need now	4	3.97	3.59	9.87*
Organization membership	3	3.35	17.78*	16.15*

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*Significant at the 95 percent level of probability.

**Significant at the 90 percent level of probability.

TABLE 36

CHANGE IN JOB ASPIRATIONS, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES (in percent)

Occupation Wanted	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Clerical	28.1	39.8	14.8	19.7
Sales	3.3	6.8	2.5	7.9
Service	25.6	25.4	21.0	18.4
Operative	23.1	16.1	42.0	34.2
Other	19.8	11.9	19.8	19.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Pay Wanted - Hourly Wage				
$1.60 or less	5.6	11.7	1.4	16.7
1.61 - 1.70	21.5	8.7	24.3	8.3
1.71 - 1.90	23.4	16.5	25.7	15.3
1.91 - 2.10	26.2	24.3	27.0	29.2
2.11 - 2.30	8.4	21.4	10.8	8.3
2.31 - 2.50	10.3	9.7	4.1	13.9
2.51 or more	4.7	7.8	6.8	8.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 36 (continued)

CHANGE IN JOB ASPIRATIONS
WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Do you think jobs like that are available?	All WIN Respondents Nov. 1969	All WIN Respondents May 1970	All Control Respondents Nov. 1969	All Control Respondents May 1970
Yes	57.9	57.6	61.7	64.5
No	42.1	42.4	38.3	35.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

How would you go about finding it?	All WIN Respondents Nov. 1969	All WIN Respondents May 1970	All Control Respondents Nov. 1969	All Control Respondents May 1970
Through friends, relatives	17.4	16.1	16.0	10.5
Advertisements	43.0	41.5	42.0	36.8
Application at firms	15.7	5.1	17.3	18.1
WIN or Employment Service	19.0	32.2	19.8	26.6
Other	5.0	5.1	4.9	7.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 37

CHANGE IN FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES (in percent)

Number of Persons in Household	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Two or less	20.7	26.3	21.0	23.7
Three	24.8	25.4	19.8	18.4
Four	23.1	18.6	25.9	28.9
Five	13.2	14.4	21.0	15.8
Six or more	18.2	15.3	12.3	13.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Own Children				
One	28.1	28.8	29.6	28.9
Two	26.4	26.3	21.0	19.7
Three	21.3	19.5	30.9	34.2
Four	10.7	11.0	11.1	10.5
Five or more	13.2	14.4	7.4	6.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ages of Children				
All under 6	28.9	26.3	35.8	27.6
All 6 - 11	17.4	19.5	11.1	15.8
All 12 - 17	9.9	10.2	12.3	13.2
Under 6; 6 -11	18.2	16.1	14.8	17.1
Under 6; some 12-17	7.4	7.6	9.9	6.6
6 - 11 and 12 - 17	18.2	20.3	16.0	19.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 37 (continued)

CHANGE IN FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS
WIN AND CONTROL GROUPS
(in percent)

One or More Children Rated a Poor Student	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Yes	7.4	7.6	6.2	18.4
No	64.5	66.1	59.3	51.3
Not applicable, no data	28.1	26.3	34.6	30.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
School Notified Parent of Problem				
Yes	21.5	32.2	24.7	25.0
No	48.8	40.7	37.0	43.4
Not applicable, no data	29.8	27.1	38.3	31.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of Problem				
Fighting	12.4	17.8	12.3	14.5
Other (absence, scholarship, health)	8.3	11.0	11.1	9.2
Not applicable, no data	79.3	71.2	76.5	76.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 38

CHANGES IN HOUSING, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Moved in Last Six Months	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Yes	19.8	9.3	35.8	14.5
No	80.2	90.7	64.2	85.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Monthly Rent				
$ 80 or less	26.4	16.9	17.1	9.2
81 - 100	24.0	23.7	23.2	19.7
101 - 120	19.0	22.9	19.5	21.1
121 - 130	10.7	8.5	15.9	15.8
131 or more	12.4	17.8	12.2	21.1
Not applicable, no data	7.4	10.2	12.2	13.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Rooms (including kitchen and bathroom)				
Four or less	22.3	24.6	21.0	23.7
Five	34.7	33.1	40.7	32.9
Six	23.1	17.8	21.0	26.3
Seven	10.7	16.1	11.1	9.2
Eight or more	9.1	8.5	6.2	7.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 38

CHANGES IN HOUSING, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Condition of House	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Good	52.1	51.7	67.9	57.9
Some problems	37.2	36.4	22.2	28.9
Poor	10.7	11.9	9.9	13.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 39

CHANGE IN HOUSEHOLD GOODS, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES (in percent)

	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Have Washing Machine				
Yes	38.0	43.2	39.5	42.1
No	62.0	56.8	60.5	57.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Clothes Dryer				
Yes	11.1	14.5	2.5	4.2
No	88.0	85.5	97.5	95.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Refrigerator				
Yes	86.8	94.1	72.0	94.7
No	13.2	5.9	28.0	5.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Sewing Machine				
Yes	32.2	38.1	34.1	40.8
No	67.8	61.9	65.9	59.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Radio				
Yes	84.3	92.4	87.8	86.8
No	15.7	7.6	12.2	13.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Television Set				
Yes	92.6	94.1	90.2	92.1
No	7.4	5.9	9.8	7.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 39 (continued)

CHANGE IN HOUSEHOLD GOODS, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES (in percent)

	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Have Electric Iron				
Yes	90.9	95.8	96.3	94.7
No	9.1	4.2	3.7	5.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Record Player				
Yes	69.4	79.7	71.6	78.9
No	30.6	20.3	28.4	21.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Electric Mixer				
Yes	29.8	34.7	39.5	40.8
No	70.2	65.3	60.5	59.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Hair Dryer				
Yes	28.9	34.7	24.4	30.3
No	71.1	65.3	75.6	69.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Car				
Yes	18.2	24.6	24.7	23.7
No	81.8	75.4	75.3	76.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have Telephone				
Yes	75.2	86.4	65.9	67.1
No	24.8	13.6	34.1	32.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 40

CHANGES IN EXPENDITURES, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES (in percent)

	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
Total Cost of Utilities In Preceding Month				
No cost	22.7	21.2	38.7	42.7
$10 or less	17.6	20.4	8.7	6.7
11 - 20	17.6	22.1	11.2	17.3
21 - 30	8.4	4.4	12.5	4.0
31 - 40	9.2	7.1	12.5	10.7
41 or more	24.4	24.8	16.2	18.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Health Care Cost in Last Six Months				
No cost	68.6	76.3	59.3	75.0
$ 1 - 35	19.0	17.8	19.8	11.8
36 or more	12.4	5.9	21.0	13.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bought Clothing for Children in Last 3 Months				
Yes	91.7	93.2	88.9	81.6
No	8.3	6.8	11.1	18.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 40 (continued)

CHANGES IN EXPENDITURES, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Cost of Children's Clothing	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
$70 or less	35.5	61.0	44.4	57.9
71 or more	55.4	29.7	44.4	22.4
Not applicable, no data	9.1	9.3	11.1	19.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bought Clothing for Self in Last 3 Months				
Yes	62.0	70.3	42.0	40.8
No	38.0	29.7	58.0	59.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bought Household Goods in Last 3 Months				
Yes	31.4	27.1	23.5	18.4
No	68.6	72.9	76.5	81.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Recreation Expenditure in Preceding Month				
Yes	24.8	25.4	21.0	26.3
No	75.2	74.6	79.0	73.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Used Food Stamps in Preceding Month				
Yes	39.7	39.8	18.5	22.4
No	60.3	60.2	81.5	77.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

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TABLE 41

CHANGES IN INCOME, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Total Income Preceding Month	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
$200 or less	12.5	6.9	22.2	16.0
201 - 250	7.5	12.1	18.5	21.3
251 - 300	22.5	16.4	18.5	16.0
301 - 350	17.5	19.0	23.5	21.3
351 - 400	21.7	18.1	8.6	12.0
401 or more	18.3	27.6	8.6	13.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Amount of Welfare Grant				
$150 or less	13.7	11.6	20.0	15.3
151 - 200	11.1	12.5	16.2	8.3
201 - 250	26.5	24.1	18.8	23.6
251 - 300	17.9	17.0	16.2	22.2
301 - 350	17.1	19.6	18.8	22.2
351 or more	13.7	15.2	10.0	8.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Share of Income from Welfare				
All	31.4	26.7	70.4	72.0
More than half	56.8	57.8	16.0	14.7
One-half or less	11.9	15.5	13.6	13.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 41 (continued)

CHANGES IN INCOME, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES

(in percent)

Share of Income From Earnings	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
More than half	4.2	6.9	4.9	6.7
One-half or less	4.2	11.2	8.6	10.7
None	91.5	81.9	86.4	82.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, for November 1969, n = 121 for WIN group, 82 for controls. For May 1970, n = 118 for WIN, 76 for controls.

TABLE 42

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS AND NEEDS,
WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Family's Biggest Immediate Need	All WIN Respondents Nov. 1969	All WIN Respondents May 1970	All Control Respondents Nov. 1969	All Control Respondents May 1970
Clothes	47.5	42.6	41.0	39.7
Food	5.1	6.5	19.2	9.6
Furniture or household goods	25.4	34.3	16.7	15.1
Pay bills	11.0	11.1	10.3	19.2
Other	11.0	5.6	12.8	16.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
"Speaking of income alone, were you better off last month than a year ago at this time?"				
Better	51.2	50.6	33.3	44.7
Same	30.6	33.1	32.1	31.6
Worse	18.2	16.4	34.6	23.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
"A year from now, do you expect to be better off, about the same, or worse off?"				
Better	83.5	79.7	82.7	72.4
Same	5.0	12.7	2.5	9.2
Worse	11.6	7.6	14.8	18.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 43

CHANGE IN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, WIN AND CONTROL SAMPLES
(in percent)

Number of Club or Organization Memberships Reported	All WIN Respondents		All Control Respondents	
	Nov. 1969	May 1970	Nov. 1969	May 1970
None	34.7	45.8	51.2	69.7
One	36.4	28.0	31.7	13.2
Two	22.3	19.5	7.3	11.8
Three or more	6.6	6.8	9.8	5.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 44

OPINIONS OF THE WIN PROGRAM - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970
(in percent)

"Which was the most valuable service you received?"	Asbury WIN Participants	Paterson WIN Participants
Counseling	3.3	8.6
Basic Education	16.7	32.8
GED	20.0	19.0
Work experience	6.7	1.7
Vocational training	5.0	6.9
Job referral	3.3	5.2
Other *	8.3	10.3
No data	36.7	15.5
Total	100.0	100.0
"Why was that the most valuable service?"		
Improved employability	25.0	15.5
Upgraded skills	11.7	17.2
Aided personal development	16.7	34.5
Other	3.3	1.7
No data	43.3	31.0
Total	100.0	99.9
"Which was the least valuable service?"		
Counseling	1.7	6.9
Basic Education	1.7	3.4
GED	8.3	3.4
Work experience	3.3	-
Vocation training	1.7	1.7
Job referral	5.0	3.4
Other *	10.0	13.8
No data	68.3	67.2
Total	100.0	99.8
"Why was it the least valuable service?"		
Not job related	1.7	3.4
Quality of service poor	21.7	6.9
Duplicated previous training	-	3.4
Inappropriate for interests,ability	5.0	3.4
Other **	1.7	5.2
No data	70.0	77.6
Total	100.1	99.9

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*Orientation, testing, child-care, and in one case, college entry.

**Personal conflicts, health,etc.

TABLE 45

OPINIONS OF WIN COMPONENTS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Counseling	Asbury WIN Participants	Paterson WIN Participants
Received counseling	71.7	100.0
Three or more counseling sessions	21.7	79.3
Helped in choice of job goal	26.7	69.0
Job goal approximates own choice	10.0	62.1
Offered favorable comment	15.0	29.3
Offered unfavorable comment	50.0	15.5
Helped in choice of training	26.7	88.0
Helped a great deal	11.7	46.6
Helped a little	15.0	41.4
No help	26.7	3.4
Changes suggested	16.7	1.7
Formal Education (ABE or GED)		
Received component	71.7	82.8
Will help in obtaining job	48.3	63.8
A great deal	28.3	46.6
A little *	25.0	17.2
Not at all	13.3	12.1
Vocational Training		
Received component	13.3	24.1
In private institution	1.7	15.5
In public institution	10.0	6.9
Will help in obtaining job	8.3	20.7
A great deal	5.0	19.0
A little	5.0	1.7
Not at all	3.3	1.7

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*Some of those who said the component would not help at all, conceded in answer to to a second question that it would help "a little".

(continued)

TABLE 45 (continued)

OPINIONS OF WIN COMPONENTS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970
(in percent)

Work Experience	Asbury WIN Participants	Paterson WIN Participants
Received component	33.3	5.2
Will help obtain job	26.7	5.2
A great deal	20.0	5.2
A little	10.0	-
Not at all	3.3	-
Job Referrals		
Told of openings	31.7	24.1
Relevant to training	16.7	10.3
Received one or more referrals (WIN/ES)	30.0	17.2
Obtained job through referral	15.0	5.2
Still employed	10.0	3.4
Could find job without WIN	8.3	-
Suggested changes	16.7	3.4

Note: Categories are not mutually exclusive; will not add to 100 percent.

TABLE 46

PROGRAM'S EFFECT ON SELF AND FAMILY - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970
(in percent)

"Have you noticed any effect upon yourself-- on your own outlook, hopes, or abilities?"	Asbury WIN Participants	Paterson WIN Participants
Strong, positive effect	15.0	19.0
Moderate, positive effect	41.7	39.7
Weak, positive effect	3.3	8.6
No effect	21.7	15.5
Negative effect	11.7	1.7
No data	6.7	15.5
Total	100.1	100.0

"How does your family feel about the program?"		
Indifferent	16.7	13.8
Opposed	5.0	1.7
Interested	58.3	65.5
Strongly supportive	8.3	12.1
No data	11.7	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 47

PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS - INTERVIEW SAMPLES, MAY 1970

(in percent)

"Have you run into any problems in the program?"	Asbury WIN Participants	Paterson WIN Participants
Yes	66.7	56.9
No	31.7	37.9
No data	1.7	5.2
Total	100.1	100.0
Problems Described (as percent of all problems mentioned--52 for Asbury, 42 for Paterson)		
Transportation	25.0	11.9
Child-care -- payments	11.5	-
Child-care -- other aspects	15.4	9.5
Program allowance	13.5	26.2
Program content	1.9	9.5
Program operation-training components	11.5	23.8
Program operation-counseling, referral	13.5	4.8
Other *	7.7	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0
"What changes would you recommend in the program?"		
None	28.3	29.3
One or more recommendations	61.7	51.7
No data	10.0	19.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Changes Suggested (as percent of all suggestions- 54 for Asbury, 35 for Paterson)		
Increase program allowances	7.4	20.0
Expand training choice	13.0	14.3
Improve training techniques	29.6	28.6
Improve counseling	14.8	-
Improve referral system	11.1	2.9
Screen applicants better	1.9	8.6
Other **	22.2	25.7
Total	100.0	100.1

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*Rudeness, unfriendliness, hours, etc.

**Lengthen/shorten classes, speed/slow pace, provide transportation, etc.